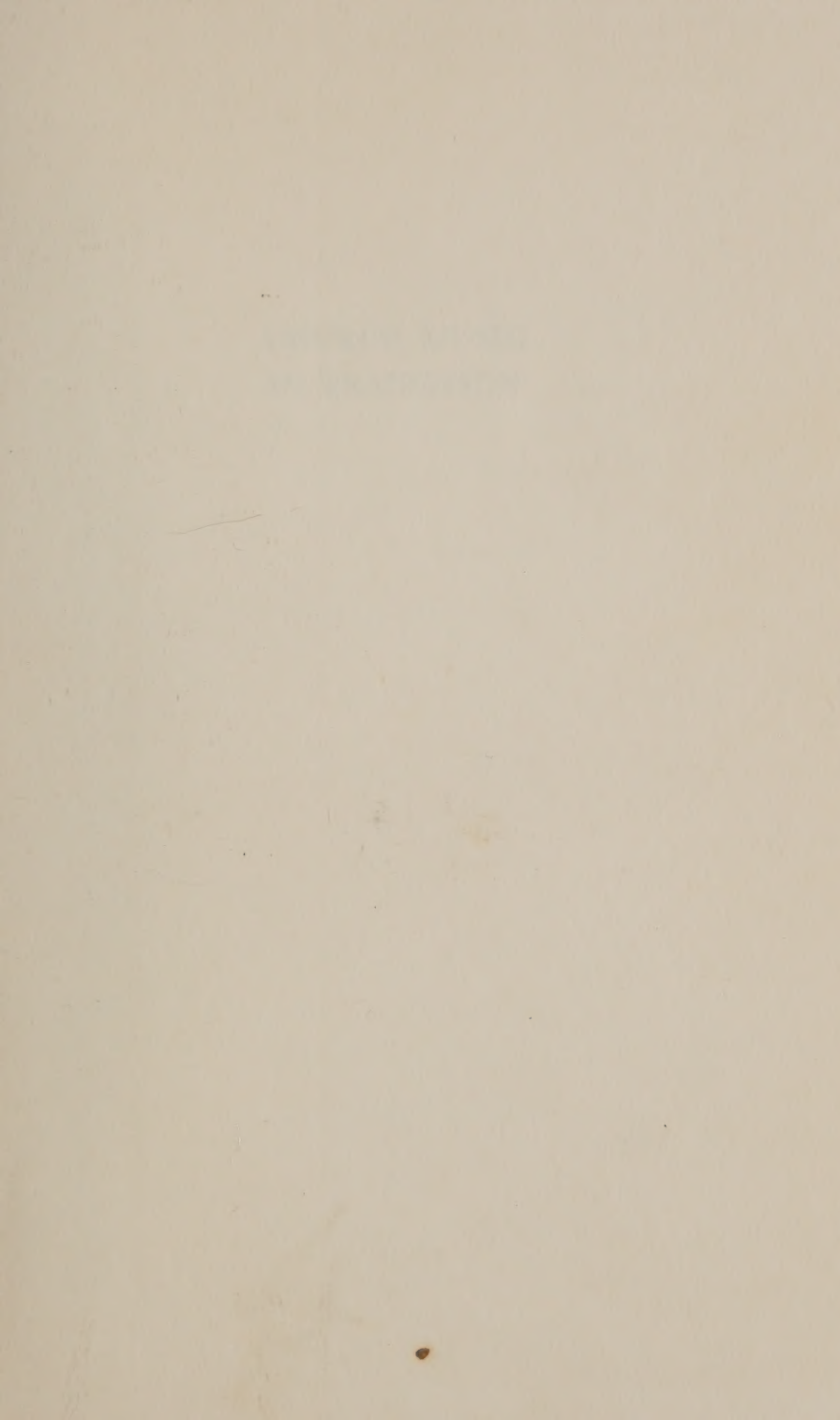




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**CHURCH MUSIC
IN TRANSITION**



CHURCH MUSIC IN TRANSITION

William Loyd Hooper

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Foreword

MUSIC MAKES a forceful appeal to the hearts and minds of men. There is almost universal acceptance of music as a vital and essential medium for corporate and individual self-expression in worship.

Most people are attracted to beautiful, meaningful music. Many churches, recognizing this fact, have developed organized programs of music training and participation which attract large numbers to their services. The more people learn to appreciate and understand music, the more sincerely they respond to it. Music in some form—vocal or instrumental—makes its appeal to all people.

The present upsurge of interest in music is one of the significant developments of our time. Music has become an important part of home, church, school, and community functions. It has become closely related to many of our daily actions, in both secular and sacred realms. Regardless of significant religious and social conditions that have guided man's activities and governed his existence through the years, music has consistently remained a powerfully influenced force.

Transition is defined as passing from one condition, form, stage, activity, or place, to another. Church music has undergone transitions innumerable times. The admonition of Colossians 3:16—"Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts"—has generated widespread response from many people.

Man's recognition of the benefits of music is evidenced by his varied evaluations and opinions. As early as 300 B.C., Aristotle said,

"Since music has so much to do with molding character, it is necessary that we teach it to our children." Bovee said, "Music is the fourth material want of our natures—first food, then raiment, then shelter, then music." From Henry Wadsworth Longfellow we have these words: "Show me a home wherein music dwells and I will show you a happy, peaceful, contented home."

John Ruskin emphasized the spiritual power in music when he said: "Music is the first, the most effective of all instruments of moral instruction." James Francis Cook, prominent musician and music educator of his generation said: "Music unifies and inspires. It is the spiritual, patriotic bulwark of our land."

It is generally accepted that aside from the Scriptures themselves, the church has no heritage that compares in inspiration and richness with its vast resources of sacred music. This heritage makes an imprint not only in our spiritual lives, but it also exerts a lasting influence on society and culture.

The long-range benefits of this musical heritage are manifested in varied personal responses. Through church music education and participation, many have been led to see their responsibility to God and their fellowman. In the singing of a hymn, others have been impressed to commit their lives to a vocation of Christian service. Countless numbers have been challenged through appropriate messages in song to a greater dedication of talent, possessions, and of life itself. Music should be, and can be, a dynamic and vital part of every Christian's worship and devotion.

CHURCH MUSIC IN TRANSITION will enable its readers to more fully understand and appreciate this wonderful heritage that is ours.

LOREN R. WILLIAMS
Director, Field Services
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I

Music in the Old Testament

“HIS BROTHER’S name was Jubal; he was the father of all those who play the lyre and pipe” (Gen. 4:21). The story of Jubal likely was an oral narrative before it became written history, a Jewish heritage that was included in the Old Testament. Such stories reflect the basic cultural ideas of the Hebrews at different levels of their historic development. These accounts, passed from father to son, answer innumerable questions as to what the people said and heard and what concerned them personally. Moses commanded the fathers to tell their children the meaning of the Passover (Ex. 13:14-15), which illustrates the common practice.

The Jubal narrative is very old. Associated with it is a song:

Lamech said to his wives:

“Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
you wives of Lamech, hearken to what I say:
I have slain a man for wounding me,
a young man for striking me.
If Cain is avenged sevenfold,
truly Lamech seventy-sevenfold” (Gen. 4:23-24)

There are other examples of narratives that answer questions of God’s dealings with mankind, such as the creation, the fall of man, and the tower of Babel. The story of Jubal tells of the origin of music.

By contrast to the Bible, most ancient peoples attributed the invention of music to a national hero or god. The Egyptian god Thot supposedly wrote books on music and acoustics and played the harp. The Indian god Narada supposedly invented the harp. The

Chinese differ somewhat, for they did not believe any one generation or person was responsible for music. The Hebrew record is unique, for the originator of music was a common man.

There are other traditions concerning Jubal among the Arabs. Jubal is called the singer of the first song, which was supposed to be an elegy on the death of Abel. Lamech is called the inventor of the lute, while his son Tubal-cain (brother of Jubal in the Scriptures) is credited with making the tambourine and drum. The daughters of Cain were supposed to be inventors of many musical instruments.

The biblical record is too brief to tell us much about the early development of music. Direct information concerning the type of music the ancient Hebrews had is also very scanty. The only sources available are the few biblical references and what is known about the music of nations that came in contact with the Jews.

Sumer and Egypt

The two oldest civilizations that had organized music were Sumer and Egypt. These two nations are among the oldest of history, for they were situated in areas well suited for life when man began to settle down from nomadic wanderings.

The Sumerians had a high civilization. They built cities and irrigation systems. They bred livestock and had an agricultural economy. A system of writing was developed, using clay tablets. The ancient Sumerian civilization has provided us with the oldest records of a musical system. Singers were used in temple religious services, and music schools for the training of singers were established in various centers of the land. This system of special vocal training was kept up by the Babylonians, later successors to the Sumerians as rulers of Mesopotamia. Their instruments included clappers, cymbals, bells, rattles, drums, pipes, and some type of trumpet. It seems, however, that the Sumerians preferred the softer string instruments: lyres, harps, and lutes.

The Old Kingdom of Egypt knew the same instruments as ancient Sumer. However, the favorite Sumerian instrument of the 3000 B.C. period was not known in Egypt until the time of Abraham (*ca.* 2000 B.C.), for the lyre is shown for the first time on Egyptian pic-

torial art of that period. One vase depicts a group of Semitic nomads offering gifts to the Pharaoh, among them a lyre. It has been supposed that these Semites were Joseph's brethren coming before Pharaoh. It would be easy to assume that the Hebrews had absorbed some of the Sumerian musical system and taken it to Egypt with them, since Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldees, at times the capital city of Sumer.

Egypt received many musical instruments when the countries of Southeast Asia were conquered. Records and bas-reliefs depict conquered kings sending tribute payments in the form of dancing girls and their musical instruments, many of which were foreign to Egypt. Egypt borrowed instruments from Mesopotamia and Syria; the Israelites borrowed instruments from the Phoenicians and Egyptians. The harp, lyre, double clarinet, and drum were all found in Egypt, Palestine, Phoenicia, and Mesopotamia.¹ (The instrument now identified as a primitive clarinet is usually referred to as a type of oboe in older works on musicology.)

Egyptians considered music a sacred expression. The musicians were the priests, male or female, who were also the sacred dancers. Melodies had their own individual divine power or ethos; in fact, the Egyptians would not alter melodies or use foreign tunes. Much of their religion probably had a certain dignity to it, for none of the instruments employed in worship were considered of a "profane" nature.

Early Hebrew Music

The Scriptures, of course, were written not to describe Jewish musical practices but the life and worship of the Hebrew people as they encountered Jehovah and his purpose for them as a nation. Music is presented incidentally, as a part of this life and worship; and a fairly adequate description of the place of music is found in each period of Jewish history. The most outstanding of these scriptural accounts can be studied in some detail.

Genesis 4:21 is the first reference to music in the Bible. The importance of music is shown in the story of Jubal; for playing on instruments is mentioned along with the raising of livestock, a prin-

cial industry. In three successive verses, the inventors of three significant phases of life are named: Jubal, father of all shepherds and tent-dwellers; Jubal, the father of musicians; and Tubal-cain, the father of all metal artisans (Gen. 4:20-22).

The identity of the musical instruments in this Scripture passage is clarified in modern speech translations. The King James Version of 1611 calls the instruments "harp and organ." The Hebrew words used are *kinnor* and *'ugav*. The *kinnor* is a "harp" or "lyre," and the *'ugav* is a "flute" or "pipe." We have no description of the instruments connected with Jubal; but from these Hebrew meanings and from pictures of instruments on Egyptian art and later Jewish coins, we can surmise that the *kinnor* was a plucked-string instrument similar to a small harp, and the *'ugav* a wood-wind instrument.

Sir John Stainer concluded that the *kinnor* was a lyre, and the *'ugav* was several pipes tied together in a sort of "pipe's of Pan."² This may be true. However, it may be seen that the King James Version does not give an adequate description of the instruments. The organ was not known to exist in Old Testament times. The early translators simply used terms with which they were familiar.

Genesis 31:27 shows that the early Mesopotamians used music for festive occasions. Laban asked Jacob, "Why did you flee secretly, and cheat me, and did not tell me, so that I might have sent you away with mirth and songs, with tambourine and lyre?" The tambourine or *toph* was a small hand drum. It was necessarily small because it had to be portable.

Exodus 15 gives the text of a song sung by Moses and the Israelites. It is a hymn of praise for their salvation from Egypt. When the children of Israel left Egypt and took with them "a great substance," apparently they did not forget to bring with them some of the country's musical instruments and a record of its musical system. This is apparent from the manner in which the victory over Pharaoh was celebrated. The description is completely in accord with what Egyptologists report concerning the celebrations practiced in Egypt.³

An instrument still in use today in the Jewish service is the *shophar* or ram's horn. It is first mentioned in Exodus 19:16 and 19. It was sounded when Moses went up Mount Sinai to receive the

tablets of law from God. Its usage was to create awe and fear, for "all the people who were in the camp trembled" (v. 16). In Exodus 28:33-34 and 39:25 we read of the *pa'amon*, or golden bells on the vestments of Aaron. From Exodus 32 we can assume that music-making was a part of Hebrew feasting. When Moses came down from Sinai with Joshua, they "heard the noise of the people as they shouted" and saw "the calf and the dancing" (vv. 17 and 19).

The book of Leviticus gives directions for further uses of the *shophar*: proclaiming a special memorial day (23:23) and sending the "trumpet throughout all your land" on the Day of Atonement (25:9). The special memorial day is also called the Feast of Trumpets and corresponds to the Jewish New Year. The day is calculated from the beginning of the Exodus, as a new era for the Hebrews began with that event.

Another and different wind instrument is mentioned in Numbers 10:1-10. Its shape was very similar to a trumpet of the present day except that it was one straight piece. Instruments such as these were common among the Egyptians, so it was not difficult for the Israelites to know how to make them. The Hebrew word for this type of trumpet is *chatsotsrah*. In Numbers 31:6, Moses sent to war "a thousand of each tribe" and priests to blow these trumpets as an alarm.

Thus far the only music of a religious nature was the blowing of the *shophar*. As the ritual of Israel would grow, certain customs of the secular life would be incorporated. During the early period, however, musical practice (in the present sense of the word) was without any special religious significance. Musical instruments used in this period were either of secular origin or were borrowed from other nations.

The Time of the Judges

The land of Canaan, where the Hebrews were to dwell, corresponded in location to the Palestine of the British Mandate following World War I, territory now divided between Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. The people who were living in Canaan were descendants of the man Canaan, fourth son of Ham, the progenitor

of the Phoenicians. Their language was similar to that of the Hebrews. These Canaanites were probably given to commerce, and thus the name came in later years to mean "merchant." The country's position on the map of the world is an unusual one. The only road between the two great rivals of the ancient world (Egypt and the various kingdoms in Mesopotamia) ran through this narrow strip of land. Therefore, Canaan frequently was an arena for battle.

The Canaanites were divided among themselves into different tribes, each tribe having its own culture, religion, and practices. This division did not end with the arrival of the Israelites or with their conquest of the land. It is natural that these tribes would have an influence over the Israelites. The latter had spent forty years of wandering in the wilderness, and the settled existence of the Canaanites must have appealed to them. The Canaanites proved to be one influence on the musical development of Hebrew culture.

After the conquest of Canaan, the Israelites began to be attracted to local paganism. It was as if Baal, the god of the Canaanites, had set up his ecstatic rituals in rivalry with the worship of Jehovah. The worship of God continued, but there was flirtation with the deities of Canaan.⁴

The days of Joshua were filled with wars, and the historians who wrote the biblical narrative were concerned with reporting these campaigns. In all the book of Joshua there is only one reference to the use of a musical instrument—and then only about its usage in warfare. Joshua 6:4-5 tells of the siege of Jericho, when seven priests blew seven *shopharoth* before the city walls fell.

In the book of Judges the *shophar* is mentioned in several passages, and is almost the only instrument mentioned. Every reference to it is an example of its use in warfare. The only other instrument mentioned is in 11:34, where Jephthah's daughter came out to meet him "with timbrels and with dances."

There is a passage in the fifth chapter of Judges that gives the "Song of Deborah." This is an extremely old piece of poetry and is an example of singing that took place during the period. This singing is an expression of warfare, but this does not necessarily mean

that other music was neglected. The preoccupation of the writer with war would exclude the mention of music in other circumstances

Later Hebrew History

With the time of the kings came Israel's final transition from nomadic to settled life. This change brought time for fuller development of some aspects of culture. As the Scriptures show, the period was also marked by a struggle between the influence of the Canaanite religion and the pure worship of Jehovah.

The reign of Saul, the first king, was marked by wars. A time such as this is not conducive to the cultivation of music or any form of art. Nevertheless, during Saul's reign young men were trained in music. A new factor entered; music came to be recognized as having an effect upon the lives of men. There was a group of men called *nevi'im* (singular, *navi'*) who were the forerunners of the prophets. These men were ecstasies who wandered about the country under a leader, gathering crowds with their furious dancing. This was done to stimulate religious fervor in themselves and to influence the on-lookers in the strongest possible way. It can be seen in 1 Samuel 19:20-24 that King Saul himself was influenced by a band of these *nevi'im*. Not only Saul's servants but Saul personally participated in the religious exercises of this group of men under the leadership of Samuel. Indicative of the limits to which the men would go is the statement that Saul "stripped off his clothes, . . . and lay naked all that day and all that night" (v. 24).

Another way in which music was recognized as affecting the human spirit is seen in the belief that music was soothing. Saul's servants told him to get someone to play the *kinnor* to drive away his melancholy (1 Sam. 16:15-16). David was selected for this purpose, and the Scriptures relate that Saul was soothed by the music. Similar instances can be found in 1 Samuel 18:10 and 19:9.

When David became king, he exalted music to a place in the worship of Jehovah. First, he moved the ark into Jerusalem with shouts and sounds of music (2 Sam. 6). Second, he organized wor-

ship, establishing the place of worship music. The musicians were all men and members of the priestly tribe of Levi. The men were divided into separate groups, with each group performing a special function. Asaph was appointed head of the singers and instrumentalists with Zechariah his deputy (1 Chron. 16:5). The conductors of the groups were David, Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman (1 Chron. 25:1-6).

Two hundred and eighty-eight men were devoted to worship music (1 Chron. 25:7). They wore robes (1 Chron. 15:27) and were consecrated to the task of music as a priestly duty (1 Chron. 16:4). These 288 were divided into twenty-four groups, each consisting of twelve men, instructed by one of the twenty-four sons of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman (1 Chron. 25:7-31). It appears that the leaders beat cymbals to keep time and to conduct. Stainer⁵ was of the opinion that these cymbals were probably similar to modern castanets, although there were larger cymbals that were struck.

It is not recorded that Solomon changed the existing musical practice; rather, it seems to have remained the same (2 Chron. 7:6, 8:14) as in the days of David. Solomon did, however, make some lyres and harps (2 Chron. 9:11) for the singers. When Solomon had finished the Temple, he called all the people together before the ark; and the Levites began the musical service (2 Chron. 5:12-14).

The Temple musicians had their own ways of making contrast in music. One was using voices of different qualities and registers; another was by antiphony, a "question-and-answer" form of singing. Likely this was taken over from secular usage, in line with the tendency for secular practices to be incorporated into religion.

The instruments employed in Hebrew religious music included some that have been mentioned above and some that were new. The old instruments were the *kinnor*, *toph*, *shophar*, *chatsotsrah*, *pa'amon*, and *'ugav*. Some of the new instruments, all borrowed, were: *mena-aneim*, very small bells or rattlers; *nevel*, a primitive harp with few strings, related to the *kinnor*; *chalil*, a clarinet-type instrument similar to a kind of double-clarinet used by present-day Arabians; *shalish*, perhaps a rattle-type instrument or perhaps a

stringed instrument; *qeren* (cf. Gen. 22:13; Josh. 6:5; 1 Chron. 25:5), a horn made of a bull's horn or metal; *metsiltayim* and *tseltselim*, probably small cymbals or possibly small bells. Some of these instruments were used in the Temple services. Others, such as the *toph* and *'ugav*, apparently were used only in personal or informal religious expression.

It is not within the scope of this text to discuss these instruments in detail or to compare them. The thing that is noticeable is that there is uncertainty about the identity of some of them. The Revised Standard Version of the Bible is consistent in translating the Hebrew names; e.g., *kinnor* is translated as "lyre" (usually "harp" in KJV) and *nevel* as "harp" (usually "psaltery" in KJV).

During the last few years of Solomon's reign the nation showed signs of revolt. Upon the death of Solomon revolution broke out, and the kingdom was divided into the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel. The kingdom of Israel included the ten northern tribes united under Jeroboam, originally one of Solomon's trusted overseers and later an unsuccessful revolutionist against Solomon. The kingdom of Judah included the two southern tribes under Rehoboam, one of Solomon's sons.

Jeroboam was interested in religion—so much so that he set up two golden bulls for the people to worship. The religion of Israel gradually reverted to the paganism of Canaan.

Rehoboam had control of the Temple but was forced to sell the Temple treasure to Shishak, king of Egypt, who fought in league with Jeroboam against him. Though neither kingdom was able to withstand alien religions, David's religion was still the ideal and was practiced in the Temple.

There arose in this period of national division a "school of prophets." It is generally agreed that the root form of the Hebrew word for "prophet" (*navi*) means to "announce" or "forth-tell." The prophets, then, were spokesmen for God. Their task was that of statesman and moral teacher, religion being a national more than an individual matter. This is not to say that the prophets were unconcerned with individuals. In fact, they were very much concerned with translating the requirements of the law into personal terms.

The emphases and methods of the prophets changed with national conditions.

Samuel organized prophetic bands (cf. 1 Sam. 19:20). It has been seen how, during the reign of Saul, these prophets attracted attention with their ecstasies. The prophets of later times usually were not extremely ecstatic. These fall into four groups: (1) those contemporary with Elijah and Elisha (*ca.* 850 B.C.), (2) those contemporary with Isaiah (*ca.* 730 B.C.), (3) those who were living during the Babylonian supremacy (*ca.* 600 B.C.), and (4) those who lived after the exile (*ca.* 520 B.C.). The two kingdoms existed side by side from 931 B.C. to 722 B.C. The Northern Kingdom fell in 722 B.C., and the third group of prophets flourished in the Southern Kingdom until 586 B.C. In 537 B.C. the Jews returned to Jerusalem to rebuild the Temple, and the last of the prophets flourished then.

The prophets used varied methods for conveying their revelations. Three literary forms were speeches or sermons, poems, and lamentations. In many instances the prophetic books seem to indicate that messages were sung as well as spoken, continuing the practices of the earlier *nevi'im*. Lamentations of the prophets likely developed out of the laments for the dead, which were a customary feature of the mourning rites of the period.

At funerals it was the custom to have professional female mourners sing while musicians played the clarinet-type instruments called *chalilim* (cf. Jer. 48:36). Apparently there were two methods of singing at funerals: the choral (unison) and the antiphonal. The antiphonal was eventually banned because of its depressing effect on the bereaved. This singing was usually accompanied by handclapping and beating on a form of drum. Matthew 9:23-24 suggests that Old Testament mourning customs existed even into the times of Christ.

The prophet Amos was very vehement in his condemnation of the adulteration of music. He stated that since the people were unjust and unrighteous (Amos 5:21-24), God did not want their praise in music. He also pronounced woe upon those who "like David invent for themselves instruments of music" (Amos 6:4-7).

He was not condemning music but the misuse of a sacred function.

The paganism that infiltrated Israel could not be restrained from influencing music making, as shown by the pronouncements of Amos. This is the thing that aroused the concern of the prophets about the use of music. In Isaiah 5:12 four instruments are mentioned that were used in the drinking house: *kinnor*, *nevel*, *toph*, and *chalil*. These instruments were also used in the worship of God—all except the *toph* being used in the Temple. It is very probable that these same instruments were also used to worship false gods. It is easy to see, then, why Amos and other prophets would be so excited over the conditions of music as they existed in their times.

The Babylonian captivity had a great effect upon the lives of the Hebrews. New religious ideas and new musical ideas arose as a result of their experiences. References to music in the book of Daniel show the influence of Babylonian music. In Daniel 3 are listed the horn, pipe, lyre, trigon, harp, and bagpipe. The word translated “bagpipe” likely is not the name of an instrument but a term that means “playing together,” referring to the instruments already listed. The instruments are named in Aramaic rather than Hebrew; they likely were similar but not identical to wind and string instruments that the Hebrews used.

Overthrow of Babylon by Persia brought an opportunity for the Jews to return to their homeland. In 537 B.C., a caravan of fifty thousand began the journey back to Jerusalem. The journey was made safely, and rebuilding of the Temple was started but was interrupted until about 520. After four years of diligent work the Temple was completed and dedicated about 516. Ezra 3:8-13 gives the details of the return home with instruments and singing. Among those returning were “two hundred male and female singers” (Ezra 2:65).⁶

Nehemiah 12 gives us the details of the dedication of the rebuilt Temple. The musicians were divided into two groups; one group with instruments went to the right and one group, possibly singers, went to the left around the walls. The dedication was one of great pomp and ceremony. Verses 44 to 47 of Nehemiah 12 would seem to indicate that the worship of God was re-established as in the days

of David, for "the singers [performed] . . . according to the command of David" (v. 45).

The Hymnbook of the Hebrews

The book of Psalms contains the hymns of Israel. Since this book contains so many of the songs the Hebrews sang in their worship of Jehovah, it is fitting that a study of Psalms be a part of surveying Old Testament music. The psalms are divided into five books: (1) 1 through 41—all except four attributed to David; (2) 42 through 72—eighteen attributed to David; (3) 73 through 89—one attributed to David; (4) 90 through 106—two attributed to David; (5) 107 through 150—fifteen attributed to David. Each of these books ends with a doxology, and Psalm 150 forms a doxology for the entire Psalter. There are other groupings such as the Hallel (Psalms 113-118), sung at the Passover and other festivals; also the Songs of Degrees (Psalms 120-134). The book of Psalms, as we know it, was not made—it grew. A long history, partly obscure, lies behind the final collection into one Psalter. The Psalter seems to have been formed very much as a modern hymnbook is formed. The earliest collection would be the Davidic, and later collections would be those of Asaph and the sons of Korah.

David was not the author of all the psalms, as some believe. Many were written by unknown authors, and possibly David's name was attached to some he did not write.

Psalm writing did not begin with David but was newly developed by him. We assume the Israelites must have been influenced by the hymns and psalms of the Babylonians and Egyptians when they dwelt with these peoples. It would be impossible to determine who wrote the first psalm, but the form goes back to the early days of Hebrew poetry.

Many of the psalms have titles which give directions as to what instruments should be used, or in some instances, what tune should be used. A few folk tunes were in use as psalm tunes, for everyone knew these secular tunes.

Authorities have given different interpretations to the meaning of the Hebrew titles to the psalms. It is uncertain who wrote the

titles, but it is ascertained that the compiler wrote the titles in the very earliest of Psalter compilation as directions for playing and singing. Some psalms are signed "the Chief Musician" who could be either Asaph or David.

The meanings of certain psalm titles are difficult to translate. Two words that prove difficult are *alamoth* and *sheminith*. Authorities give various possible renderings for both words. *Alamoth*, coming from a word meaning "maiden," may mean (1) sung by women's voices or (2) the soprano or higher tuning for stringed instruments. *Sheminith*, coming from a word meaning "eighth," may mean (1) sung by men's voices, (2) the bass or lower tuning of instruments, or (3) the eighth mode. The meaning of higher and lower tuning seem logical to this writer for two reasons: (1) 1 Chronicles 15:20-21 says that men were "to play harps according to Alamoth; . . . to lead with lyres according to the Sheminith"; and (2) women were excluded from singing or participating in the Temple services.⁷

What did Temple music sound like? It is impossible to say. Research in comparative musical systems seems to indicate that the music was based on a five-note scale. These scales may have involved the use of quarter steps as compared to our use of half steps. There seem to have been as many as four different modes and a number of short musical figures freely improvised upon. Different parts of the Bible apparently would be sung to different modes, for each mode was regarded as suited to a particular type of subject matter.

As has been stated, the music was unison with no harmony used or implied. There was a system of writing words and accent signs to indicate the mode and rise and fall of pitch. There was also a system of chironomy (hand signs) used by the leader in directing a group of musicians. Written and hand signs served as crude types of notation. These signs gave an indication of word accent, the manner of rendering a word or phrase, and the tune to which the passage would be sung. The written accent marks indicate grammatical relationships of words or phrases as well as guiding in musical rendition.

The origin of the biblical accents is unknown. Some scholars

have attributed them to Ezra and the scribes. Many are of the opinion that the Jews merely absorbed these signs from other cultures and adapted them to their own purposes. What the signs indicate—the tune and manner of rendering the text—is peculiarly Jewish.

Rothmüller⁸ lists three classes of accents: (1) the Tiberian, in which dots, strokes, and segments of circles are placed above or below the consonants; (2) the Babylonian, in which the signs are mainly Hebrew letters placed above the consonants; and, (3) the Palestinian system, in which the sign is usually a dot placed by the upper or lower part of a consonant. In addition, there was one set of accents for the book of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, and another set for all the other books. Like the medieval neumes, the accents represented musical phrases or ideas but did not picture in graphic form the rise and fall of melody.

The Bible records God's progressive revelation to man through a chosen race of people, the Hebrews. As their religion developed, their music developed. One of the challenges of the Old Testament is to improve the music of worship in churches today.

TABLE I: PSALMS AND THEIR TITLES

<i>Title</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Psalms</i>
Neginoth	stringed instruments, or melodic pattern	4
		55
		61
		67
		76
Sheminith	set to the lower octave or the eighth mode	6
		12
Alamoth	set to the higher octave or for flutes	46
Shiggaion	a changing melody	7
Gittith	a statement of mode, or an instrument from the town of Gath	8
		81
		48

Muth-labben	"Death to the son," a folk melody	9
The Hind of Dawn	A folk melody	22
Jeduthun	In manner of, or dedicated to Jeduthun	39 62 77
According to Lilies	A folk melody	45 69 80
Mahalath	possibly a corruption of Alamothe, or a flute, or sung responsively	53 88
The Dove Afar Off	a folk melody	56
Do Not Destroy	possibly a grape-treaders folk melody, or possibly derived from the subject of the related psalms	57 58 59 75
Shushan Eduth	a folk melody, perhaps same as "According to the Lilies"	60
Nehilothe	Wind instruments, or flutes	5

TABLE II: OBSCURE WORDS IN THE PSALMS

Selah:	This is a direction for the singers to pause and the instruments to play an interlude. In the days of the second Temple, flutes played this interlude.
Mikhtam:	A record or memorial; usage is obscure in Psalms.
Maskil:	A teaching song; usage is obscure in Psalms.

II

Music of the Early Church

JESUS WAS influenced by the services of the synagogue. In his day, there were many synagogues in the city of Jerusalem, perhaps as many as 400. In Luke 4:16, Jesus is described as entering into the synagogue, "as his custom was." Not only is it recorded that he went there—he taught, preached, healed, and expounded the Scriptures in the synagogue. Jesus attended the Temple services, and even commanded a leper whom he had healed to go to the Temple and submit to the cleansing rites required by the Mosaic law (Matt. 8:4). John 7-9 deals with the events surrounding Jesus when he was teaching in the Temple. He was not antagonistic to the Temple. Yet he did not magnify it as an institution representing religion before his advent into the world. Jesus condemned neither the Temple nor its elaborate services. He was not necessarily pleased with worship as he found it in either the Temple or the synagogue.

Jewish Antecedents

The Temple services were patterned after the services of David's time. Alfred Edersheim¹ gives a detailed discussion of the services in the time of Jesus. The actual daily service itself varied according to the different seasons and days, so a discussion of the order of that service is impossible. It is possible to discuss some of the elements found in all of the worship services. There was a unison melody sung accompanied by instruments. The instruments included at least one pair of brass cymbals, to which Paul refers in 1 Corinthians 13. This "sounding brass" and "tinkling cymbal" had no part in the service itself, but was simply a means of announcing the service.

The instruments used in the service consisted mainly of the lyre (*kinnor*) and the harp (*nevel*). Not less than two nor more than six harps were to be used and not less than nine lyres, but there was no limit to the number of lyres. Three large silver trumpets were used, chiefly for announcing portions of the service (cf. Num. 10). These trumpets could be heard for miles in any direction from Jerusalem. The *shophar* was still used, but was now made of metal. The clarinet or flute (*chalil*) was played on twelve special occasions: three days during the Passover season, the day of Pentecost, and the eight days during the Feast of the Tabernacles. Not less than two nor more than twelve of these were allowed. There is some indication that the Temple had a type of organ called the *magrephah*. What it actually consisted of no one knows. It is believed that its tones could be heard throughout Jerusalem.

Clarinets were used also by festive pilgrims on their journey to Jerusalem to accompany Psalms of Ascent (Isa. 30:29). It was equally important for a Jew to provide at least two clarinets and one mourning woman for funerals (cf. Matt. 9:23).

The purpose of the book of Revelation was to give hope to the persecuted Christians of that day. This hope is expressed in symbolic language, perhaps to make it unintelligible to non-Christians. The Temple had left such a profound influence upon the apostle John that he recorded the panorama of the redeemed church in heaven worshiping God in terms of the Temple and its worship services. Revelation 5:8 and 14:2-3 describe the twenty-four elders and the redeemed church "harping with their harps" as in the Temple.

In Revelation 15:2 another allusion is made to the "harps of God." Pictured here is the church, battle worn from the great tribulation, standing victoriously on the "sea of glass" with the "harps of God." The assembly sings the song of Moses and the Lamb. This is the sabbath (or rest) of the church, and the praise of God has the character of a sabbath service in the Temple. A sabbath Psalm is sung (Psalm 92; cf. Psalm 86), and the song of Moses (Deut. 32; cf. Ex. 15) is sung. By adding the Lamb's song to the song of Moses, John was expressing the Christian concept of Jesus' fulfilment of all the Old Testament expectations.

Emphasis on the Temple pattern of worship, however, is not characteristic of the New Testament as a whole. To understand Jesus' conception of worship, it is necessary to understand his mission. His sacrifice was to replace the sacrifices of the Temple (Matt. 26:1-2). The worship of God was personal and spiritual, not organized into elaborate buildings and ritual (John 4:21-24). Jesus' gospel was consistent with the type of worship found in the synagogue, and he identified himself more clearly with the synagogue than with the Temple.

The actual origin of the synagogue is obscure. It did not exist before the exile and probably developed during this time when the Jews were separated from the Temple and its sacrifices. The Temple emphasized ritual sacrifice, but it also represented to the Jews the reign of Jehovah over their national life and served as a shrine for national religious festivities. When it was destroyed and thousands of Jews were carried into Babylon, a new means of worship had to be devised. The prophets had been emphasizing the nonritual elements of worship, and the synagogue became a school for better living as well as a center of worship.

The synagogue incorporated many aspects of Temple worship. It stood, if at all possible, on the highest ground in or near the city to which it belonged. Its direction was also fixed. Since the Temple was the center of Jewish devotion and was in Jerusalem, the synagogue was so constructed that the worshipers looked toward Jerusalem as they entered and prayed. At this end of the interior there was an ark which contained the sacred book of the Law. This was the place of honor, the "chief seats" for which the scribes and Pharisees sought (Matt. 23:6) and to which the wealthy and important visitor was invited (James 2:2-3). In front of the ark was a seven-branched lamp, lighted only on special occasions, and by it a lamp was kept burning perpetually. Toward the center of the building there was a raised platform and a pulpit for the reader to stand and read the sacred writings or to sit and teach. The congregation was divided by a low railing about five feet high, separating men and women.

Parts of the Temple liturgy were used, such as fixed prayers (the

disciples asked Jesus for one, which resulted in the so-called Lord's Prayer or Model Prayer) and the reciting of the Ten Commandments. The law was read every service, being read consecutively, so as to complete the entire reading in a three-year cycle. The prophets were read as second lessons (Acts 15:21). After the readings followed the sermon (Acts 13:15). Regular times of prayer were observed daily in the synagogue. These set prayer times had existed in the Temple and continue to exist in some form in Catholic churches and monasteries today. The central act of worship, the reading of the Scriptures, was accompanied by the singing of psalms by the congregation. The reading itself was intoned according to a particular mode for that part of the Bible being read.

The most outstanding features of worship that were different from Temple worship were: (1) the synagogue did not provide for sacrifices, and (2) worship was led by laymen in the absence of the priesthood. The leader of worship was the presiding elder or ruler of the synagogue, chosen because of his character and for the esteem in which he was held by the Jews. The affairs of the synagogue were in the hands of the elders, from whom this ruler was elected for life. He controlled all the activities of worship, teaching, and social welfare. The one next to him was the minister, who assisted in the teaching, selected the speakers for the services, took the scrolls from the ark for their reading and replaced them, and was the official dispenser of discipline.²

An outgrowth of the synagogue was schools. These schools taught the Hebrew language and literature, the Scriptures, and lessons of morality and chastity. In addition, astronomy, science, and mathematics were taught. There is no record that these schools taught music, but we can conjecture that they did, since music was considered a valuable force in life.³

It is significant that the synagogue continued even after the temple was rebuilt and its services restored. The ones who perpetuated the synagogue were the scribes. Originally these men were priests and Levites, but eventually pious laymen devoted their lives to the study of the law. By the time of Jesus they had become an official religious class of interpreters of the law. Ezra seems to have

been the first scribe, or at least the first mentioned in the Bible (Ezra 7:6; Neh. 8:1).

It would appear from Acts 3 that the early Christians continued to worship in the Temple until the differences between Jews and Christians became intolerable. At the same time, Christians started gathering together informally in homes for prayer and testimony. When they went to the synagogue it was to tell others about their new faith. Likewise, the apostle Paul made the synagogue a center of his missionary activities. It seems safe to assume that the early Christians adopted the musical practices of the synagogue, but little is known of these.

It is the conjecture of this writer that the synagogue music was of a folk nature, in contrast to the elaborate musical system of the Temple. The main feature of folk music is that it has been handed down from generation to generation, undergoing changes to fit a particular era or group of people. Religious folk music is representative of the emotions of the worshipers rather than being merely a part of a rigid ritual. The use of the different folk melodies shown in the psalm titles relates even the book of Psalms to the category of folk religion. Likewise, Jesus' conception of religion cannot be made into ritual but must be adapted to human need and expression.

The New Testament Era

There is not so much material in the New Testament concerning music as there is in the Old Testament. There is no instance of music in the ministry of Jesus except for the Last Supper, where part of the Hallel was sung (Psalms 113-118), and during the triumphal entry. The apocryphal book, "The Acts of John," gives an account of the singing during the Last Supper. It depicts the final hymn being accompanied by a circle dance of some sort led by Jesus. The structure is briefly as follows:⁴

Jesus: Glory be to the Father.

Disciples: Amen.

Jesus: Glory be to thee—the Word:

Glory be to thee—the Grace.

Disciples: Amen.

Jesus: Glory to thee—the Holy Ghost—Spirit:

Glory be to thee, Holy One:

Praise be to thy glory.

Disciples: Amen.

Jesus: We praise thee, Father—

We render thanks to thee,

Light where no shadows dwell.

Disciples: Amen.

Jesus: Now whereas we give thanks, I say:

I would be saved, and I would save. (Amen)

I would be loosed, and I would loose. (Amen)

I would be wounded, and I would wound. (Amen)

This book was formed into a corpus with four other apocryphal books and substituted by the Manichaeans for our book of Acts. Manichaeism was a heresy that had combined Persian religious beliefs with Christian beliefs. It taught absolute dualism of contrasting forces—the “kingdom of light” and “the kingdom of darkness.” God was a part of everything; thus, everything was a part of God. Jesus was physically an apparition. He was merely an aid to the good principle in every man that helps him overcome the evil principle. Manichaeism had far-reaching effects on the future of Christianity, contributing to the rise of medieval catholicism. It degraded marriage and encouraged the ascetic or monastic life. Pompous ceremony was introduced into the church services, and ministers were considered to be intermediaries between God and man. As a result of this belief concerning ministers, an elaborate system of indulgences had been introduced by the time Luther was struggling with his faith.

Paul admonished Christians to speak to one another in “psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord” (Eph. 5:19). The same admonition is given in Colossians 3:16. In 1 Corinthians 14:15, Paul said that he would “sing with the spirit, and . . . the understanding also.” To determine the differences Paul wished to make between psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs is difficult. In all probability “psalms” referred to the Old Testament psalms, while “hymns” and “spiritual songs” were

Christian creations. Since the word *hymnos* was used in Koine Greek to describe songs of praise and adoration to pagan gods, it would seem likely that New Testament "hymns" are expressions of praise and adoration to Jehovah. The more subjective, personal expressions of religious experience would be embodied in the "spiritual songs."

Emphasis should be placed upon the content and purpose of New Testament music: (1) it should be spiritual (inspired by the Spirit); (2) it should come from the heart (the seat of human emotions). This is approaching music from the view of folk music, and is in direct contrast to the Temple music and its prescribed rituals.

This approach to music was also a direct contrast to the secular music of the time. Many of the early Christians had difficulty in accepting the culture in which they lived because it was pre-occupied with physical objects and earthly philosophies. On the other hand, many other Christians seemingly had little difficulty in accepting the secular culture. Many of the problems the apostle dealt with in his epistles to the various churches reflect this failure on the part of believers to separate themselves from the world. Paul's decree for separation from the world became a necessity if Christianity was to survive. Secular arts and letters concerned the sensual, and emotion was recognized in music. Music was justified on ethical grounds, being able to produce both good and evil emotions.

Music contained no harmony in the twentieth-century meaning of the word but was constructed on a scientific basis. This scientific theory thought of the universe in terms of a sphere, perfect in harmony with itself, with the stars and planets moving about in orderly fashion according to the notes of a musical scale. The musical scale was constructed by mathematically dividing a vibrating string into segments, and then calculating a ratio between the number of vibrations of the open string and the number of vibrations of the string divided into segments. Surrounding this scientific study were numerous religious cults that identified deities with certain stars. Naturally, music played a large part in many of these ceremonies.⁵

Since music had degenerated, in the minds of the Christians, to

nothing but a means of sensual gratification, and that exploited to the fullest, it is surprising that music was retained by the young churches at all. However, the influence of the Old Testament and the synagogue assured the continuation of music in the worship services. This fact is verified by the inclusion in the New Testament of hymns or hymn fragments.

Some of these fragments are: (1) Acts 4:24-30, a prayer which is very similar to an Old Testament psalm; (2) Ephesians 5:14, the context of which suggests it may have been sung for baptismal services; (3) 1 Timothy 3:16; (4) 2 Timothy 2:11-13; and (5) Revelation 4:8, which is suggestive of Old Testament passages, and 14:8, which depicts an angel singing of the fall of Babylon.

In Luke 1 are recorded: (1) the Annunciation, the angel's song to Mary announcing the advent of Jesus; (2) the Magnificat, sung by Mary upon hearing the news; and (3) the Benedictus, sung by Zacharias upon the birth of John the Baptist. In Luke 2 are recorded the Gloria in Excelsis Deo, sung by the angels on the night of Christ's birth, and the Nunc Dimittis, sung by Simeon when Jesus was brought to the Temple as an infant. These famous hymns have been used through the centuries in various Christian denominations. Nothing is known about their preservation from their origin until Luke recorded them in his Gospel, some sixty to eighty years later. They must have been preserved by Jewish Christians of Palestine—either by Mary herself or by some that had known her. It is possible, of course, that they underwent some elaboration between the time of their origin and the time Luke wrote. They may have been used and developed as didactic hymns about the related events.

The fact that singing was included as a part of the church service is attested to by Acts 16:25, which tells that Paul and Silas sang in the Philippian jail. James 5:13 admonishes those who are merry to "sing psalms." First Corinthians 14:26 discusses the reality of spiritual gifts and indicates that some have the gift of making psalms. Either this gift was the best or the most conspicuous, for Paul mentioned it first. There is some connection between speaking in tongues and making music. It was an Oriental custom to express great joy in unintelligible song-speech. Paul condemned such

abstract expressions of joy and praise and urged intelligible worship.

Early Greek Developments

Singing was accepted in the churches, but where did the hymns originate? Were they compiled in any form? In 1909, a collection of hymns, originally in Greek but contained in a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century Syriac manuscript, was discovered by Dr. Rendel Harris near the banks of the Tigris River. These hymns are entitled *The Odes of Solomon* and are bound together with another work, *The Psalms of Solomon*. The "psalms" have been identified as belonging to the Old Testament period, but the "odes" were definitely written in the New Testament period. This conclusion is reached by a careful study of the text. It speaks of the joy in Christ and other Christian feelings of emotion. There appears a "Hallelujah" at the end of each ode which sets it off in song form. No music is available to enlighten us as to the music used. What phase of Christianity these "odes" represent or what party used them remains a mystery. The probable date of composition is towards the end of the first century.⁶

In 1922 a papyrus was uncovered in Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, containing the words and music of a third-century Christian hymn. It is a short vocal piece composed in the general style of pre-Christian Greek music. This is the earliest source of music available and indicates that the Christians eventually adopted the secular Greek practices in composing.⁷

The oldest part of Christian music is psalm singing. Nearly all the church fathers speak of psalm singing in the most glowing words. Basil, a theologian prominent in efforts to settle the Arian dispute, wrote of music as being an invention of the Holy Spirit to teach Christian doctrines in an understandable manner. A psalm would drive away demons and the congregation would remember the teaching of the Psalms they had sung even if they forgot the sermon. Basil was of the opinion that the suitable instrument for accompanying Psalm singing was the psaltery.

Chrysostom, famous as an orator and moralist, wrote that God had given the Psalms to create the better attitudes of mind and soul,

since secular songs would invite demons. There was no need for an instrument, making the mind and spirit function in harmony with each other. When a Christian had submitted to the Holy Spirit, he would then create a spiritual melody.

Jerome, one of the great scholars of the fourth century, gave a definition for Paul's psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. A hymn declared the majesty and power of God, and had an "Alleluia" affixed to the end of it. Psalms (of the Old Testament) affect the seat of emotions to produce the right kind of moral action. The moralist who examines these two types of song and also examines the harmony of the universe sings a spiritual song. The Christian should sing more with the heart than with the voice.⁸

Augustine, probably the best recognized of the early church fathers, wrote that music touched his emotions deeply. He felt somewhat guilty that even sensuous, secular music also touched him. He felt that the flames of religious fervor would be fanned by the singing of devotional songs. In some mysterious way the different passions of the body were affected by different types of music. His own conversion was due in part to singing; not with the sound of voices, but with the message conveyed in music from the Psalms.⁹

Singing seems to have been centered around the Psalms, but other songs appeared too. There were canticles, a type of simple song taken from lyrical parts of the Old and New Testaments other than Psalms. Pliny the Younger, in his famous letter concerning Christians, relates how they would gather before daybreak and sing songs to Christ. The historian Eusebius speaks of Christians writing psalms and odes from the beginning of the Christian era.

Hymn singing was not limited to the orthodox. There were two prevalent heresies that also employed hymns to propagate the teachings of the groups. One heresy was gnosticism, which taught that since evil existed in the world, God could not have been the Creator. The Messiah's body was only an appearance, or, according to others, only a human body he used temporarily (the same teaching existed in Manichaeism). Thus, major teachings of both Judaism and orthodox Christianity were opposed. Marcion and Valentinus were two gnostics who resorted to hymn singing in order to preach

their "gospel," and Christians responded by producing antignostic hymns. Irenaeus related that he was taught a poem against the Gnostic Markos.

Another major heresy employing hymns was Arianism. Arius (*ca.* A.D. 250-336) believed that Jesus was a creation of God, therefore not fully divine. He was to be worshiped as being exalted above the rest of creation but as not equal to God. The Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325) condemned his teachings as being heretical and banished him to what is today Yugoslavia. In his banishment he composed songs to teach his particular beliefs, and taught them to everyone. The people sang his songs lustily, whether they understood or believed the teachings or not. There is no doubt about the influence of Arius' hymn singing.

When Chrysostom was bishop of Constantinople in 398, the Arians were not allowed to worship within the city walls, but they would come to town on Saturday or Sunday evening and hold festivals and hymn sings on the streets, attracting huge crowds. Their hymns set forth Arian doctrines and hurled taunts at the orthodox believers, causing general confusion. In counter-attack, Chrysostom organized hymn sings which resulted in bloodshed among the two groups. After that, Arians were banned completely by law. Naturally, Chrysostom's groups flourished.

Music historians trace the first important period of Christian church music from the time of Constantine's recognition of Christianity in 313 to Pope Gregory in 590. Music prior to 313 is practically nonexistent, and music from 313 to 590 is scarce. Musical notation did not come into being until nearly a thousand years after Christ. The history of Christianity and the history of the music that goes with it can be traced side by side, since ritual and music influenced each other. Early hymn writers and the development of liturgy are a part of this first period.¹⁰

Early hymn writers wrote in Greek and lived in areas represented by the Greek Orthodox Church today. Many early Greek hymns have been translated into English by Dr. John Mason Neale (1818-66), an Anglican whose work in this field is unparalleled. Dr. Neale was one of several translators of Greek and Latin hymns

during the Oxford Movement in England. This movement was an effort on the part of many Anglican churchmen to revive the Church of England. Its leaders charged that the church was worldly, hostile to social and political reform, and opposed to any change in its privileged position. The members of the Oxford Movement sought to strengthen it by emphasizing its apostolic origin as traced through Christian history. Translating hymns and writing new ones were designed to reflect the doctrines and worship of early Christians. As a result of such emphasis on tradition and liturgy some outstanding Anglicans became Roman Catholics and others advocated a near-Roman form of Anglicanism.

One of the oldest hymns still sung in churches today is "Hail! Gladdening Light" translated by John Keble, another leader in the Oxford Movement. The actual date of this hymn is unknown, but it could be anywhere from the first to the fifth centuries. It is sometimes called "a hymn for the lighting of the lamps." Early Christians, who lived a life close to nature, tried to relate natural phenomena to their religion. This hymn is but a natural expression of the evening ritual of lighting lamps in the home or church.

There were some differences between Greek-speaking Christians of the eastern Mediterranean and Latin-speaking Christians of Italy and farther west. Outstanding were: (1) the struggle between Rome and Constantinople over which one would be the capital city of the Church; (2) the rise of papal power in Italy; (3) the rapid growth of the Church in the West contrasted to controversy within the Church in the East; (4) loss of territory and population in the East after the rise of Mohammed; (5) a difference in the development of liturgy and services. The gradual division finally brought complete separation between East and West, producing the Greek Orthodox Church in the East and the Roman Catholic in the West. One result was the death of Christian hymnody and poetry in the Greek-speaking world—the very region where it had originated.¹¹

Early Latin Developments

The Roman Church brought forth a great body of Latin hymns and organized the beginnings of music for Western civilization.

The first Latin hymnist was Hilary (*ca.* 310-66), who was born in Poitiers, France, and who later (*ca.* 353) became the Bishop of Poitiers. An unusual feature of the church at Poitiers, the oldest Christian building in France, is its baptistry which provided for candidates to be immersed in a tank of water. Hilary was exiled to Asia Minor in A.D. 356 because he was attacking the Arian heresy, and the Emperor Constantius was tainted with this very heresy. After two years he was allowed to return, but not to his bishopric until there had been a change in emperors. His stay in Asia exposed him to Greek hymns which he tried to imitate upon his return home. They did not prove to be successful, however, because of their difficulty in being sung. His hymns are written in acrostics, a Greek custom of starting the first line with A, the next with B, and so on. His hymns were written in the rhythm of Roman marching songs in an effort to make the singing popular. None of his hymns appear in our English hymnals.

Of greater significance in the history of church music was Ambrose of Milan. He had been a catechumen (one receiving instructions before entering church membership) and an important civil official. When the bishop of Milan, an Arian, died, a controversy broke out between the Arians and the orthodox that threatened to erupt into a riot. Ambrose, in his civil capacity, attended the meeting where a new bishop was to be elected in order to preserve peace. His eloquent plea for order and moderation resulted in his immediate election as bishop, whereupon he resigned his government position, was baptized, and was consecrated bishop. The Arian conflict grew worse, and finally the Empress Mother, Justina, demanded that Ambrose allow the Arians to use the church and its vessels for services. When he refused, his life was sought by the imperial guards; and he took refuge in the church, where his faithful members kept vigil day and night to maintain possession of their place of worship. To help his flock keep their long vigils, Ambrose wrote doctrinal hymns to strengthen their morale. How effective these hymns were can be seen in the life of Augustine, whom Ambrose later baptized. Augustine attributed his conversion to Ambrose and his hymns.

It seems that because of the folk nature of the hymns, the singing was accompanied by dancing and clapping. Such enthusiastic, informal worship was stemmed by a movement called biblicism, suppression of all hymns except some from the Bible and a few others sanctioned by the clergy. The fourth-century synod of Laodicea formulated regulations concerning who was to sing in the church services. This prescription of who was to sing and who was not to sing was the first step in the elimination of congregational singing. After this synod music was completely in the hands of the clergy and the choir. Such regulation almost annihilated the creative spirit of the worshipers but was partly justified because of the encroachment of undesirable persons who wanted to sing.

Primitive Christian music was used in three ways: (1) in the solemn reading of the Scriptures; (2) in psalm and hymn singing; and (3) in the chanting of a joyous "Alleluia." By 590, when Gregory became pope, the Lord's Supper had come to be regarded as a sacrificial offering of Christ upon the altar of the church, and the entire service centered around this act. The name of the Supper had been changed to Eucharist or mass (from the parting words of the priest: "*Ite, missa est*"—Go, you are dismissed). Other services of importance, in addition to the mass, were the divine offices or canonical hours, derived from the old Jewish hours of prayer.

Types of religious service or liturgy varied in different localities, with five main divisions in all: (1) Roman, used in the churches around the Mediterranean; (2) the Gallican, used in Gaul; (3) the Mozarabic, found in Christian churches in Moslem Spain; (4) the Ambrosian, compiled by Ambrose and used in the church of Milan; and (5) the Celtic, used in Britain, Ireland, and perhaps Brittany.

Associated with the Ambrosian liturgy and of real importance in the history of church music was a particular kind of singing, the Ambrosian chant. This was a form of plain song that prepared the way for the later development of the Gregorian chant. Three centuries after Ambrose, Pope Gregory helped standardize musical material for the Roman liturgy, hence the name Gregorian chant. This music can be classified according to the types of melodies used.

First, the syllabic—each syllable of the text is set to one note. Second, the neumatic—some syllables have one note, but others have a group of notes. Third, the florid or melismatic—each single syllable has a great many notes. The choice of styles was determined by the place it occupied in the service, the solemnity of the text, and the solemnity of the melody. The Gregorian chant and Roman liturgy eventually displaced all rivals in the West, except for restricted use of the Ambrosian liturgy in Milan and the Mozarabic in parts of Spain.¹²

There were several reasons for Gregory's interest in music and liturgy. Since congregational music was nonexistent, singers took on new importance, some being promoted to high church positions on the merits of their singing rather than on other qualifications. Many ministers were neglecting their spiritual ministry because they had to spend so many hours practicing voice. There was a scarcity of liturgical books, so the singers and clergy of necessity memorized the Psalter, along with its music. There was little uniformity of worship in the churches which prompted the organization of the structure of the mass and the liturgy which surrounded it. Gregory hoped to strengthen his papal power by binding the scattered churches closer together. The use of Latin and one system of music united churches of different nationalities and languages. Gregory's actual role in the development of the chant is uncertain, but his influence was great. Gregory collected the whole repertoire of chants available in his *Antiphonale Missarum*. An important factor in this standardization of the chant was the reorganization by Gregory of the Roman Schola Cantorum, a school for training singers.

The chants contained in the *Antiphonale Missarum* are still a model and standard for the worship of Roman Catholic Churches. They used scales (called "modes") that are diatonic—having no wide skips or leaps—and a rhythm that reflects the natural flow of human speech. In all, there were eight different scales (modes), each with a particular esthetic quality: the first and second were considered contemplative; the third and fourth expressed ecstasy; the fifth and sixth imparted spirit; and, the seventh and eighth

were solemn and serene. An early system of notation was devised called *neumes*, small signs placed above the words to indicate a visual representation of the rise and fall of the melodies. Out of this came our modern notation.¹⁸

The structure of the mass is divided into two parts: (1) the ordinary, which has an unvarying text; and (2) the proper, which has a textual variation according to a particular season or individual day. The ordinary contains five sections: (1) *Kyrie Eleison* (Lord have mercy), the only Greek in the Latin mass; (2) *Gloria in Excelsis*, sung by the angels on the night of Christ's birth; (3) *Sanctus* (Holy, holy, holy); and two others added in the eleventh century: (4) *Credo* (Nicene Creed) and (5) *Agnus Dei* (Behold the Lamb of God). In the beginning, the first three parts of the ordinary were in the nature of hymns and were sung by the congregation. However, when the congregation no longer was permitted to sing, the simple chants of the ordinary underwent a period of great artistic development.

Medieval Developments

Two types of artistic development that are important for this study were the trope and the sequence. The sequence was based upon the textless vocalization of the last vowel in the "Alleluia." Because it was so difficult to remember the tunes for these long, florid passages without the benefit of text, singers began adding independent texts to the music. Gradually, not only words but music was also composed. The trope was similar to the sequence, but was actually an interpolation of the original text and based upon less florid musical passages. An example of a troped *Kyrie* would be: "Lord (Ruler of heaven and earth) have mercy." In this regard, the sequence was a trope of the "Alleluia," as the added words were in some way connected with the Psalm verse that preceded the "Alleluia."

The importance of the tropes and sequences lies in the fact that here was a new type of hymnody. It should be understood that these tropes and sequences were never considered an official part of the liturgy, but were simply attached to it. As the number of

sequences arose, steps were taken to eliminate them as the real texts were being obscured. The Council of Trent (1545-63) banned all but four, still used today: *Dies Irae*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, *Victimae Paschali*, and *Lauda Sion*. The same Council banned tropes altogether. Later, in 1727, a fifth sequence was added: *Stabat Mater*.

The authorship of the Easter sequence *Victimae Paschali* has been attributed to Wipo of Burgundy (d. ca. 1048). The text describes the resurrection morning after the paschal victim has risen. Parts of the chant melody were later changed into the German chorale *Christ ist erstanden*. The sequence for Whitsunday *Veni Sancte Spiritus* has been attributed to King Robert the Pious (d. 1031), to Innocent III (d. 1216), and to Stephen Langton (d. 1228). The Corpus Christi sequence *Lauda Sion* was written by Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). Both of these sequences have a regularity of structure, with rhyming text. The Easter sequence is rather syllabic, the verses do not rhyme, and the verses are uneven. The sequence nearest to hymn form is the *Dies Irae*, attributed to Thomas of Celano (d. ca. 1250). This is from the mass for the dead and deals with judgment day. Its structure is comparable to a stanza-form hymn.

Sequences became exceptionally popular, some well-liked tunes having new texts set to them. These melodies were identified in manuscripts by the Latin word *incipit* (or often the French word *timbre* was used) e.g., *Incipit: Dies Irae*. The sequence probably reached its highest point in development with Adam of St. Victor (d. 1192), a monk whose works are in the form of hymns. The difference between sequences and hymns lies in the fact that the music changes for each pair of verses in the sequence while poetic structure remains the same. Thus, Adam's works are still classified as sequences and not hymns. Hymns keep the same music for each stanza.¹⁴

An outgrowth of troping was the liturgical drama, the music of which was gathered from many types of secular as well as sacred sources and perhaps some original compositions as well. The drama was short, illustrating Bible stories reduced to the basic essentials. The people were unable to read or write, so these dramas provided

religious instruction in the Scriptures as well as wholesome entertainment. The language was in the vernacular, not the Latin of the mass, and for this reason made quite an impression upon the observers. Viewers saw in the liturgical plays a way of salvation, hence their desire to sing a response in their own tongue expressing their own personal faith. It is said they would go home singing the tunes of the drama and add words of their own to express their religious convictions.

The other major religious services of the Roman Church were the offices, or canonical hours. They probably derived from the hours of prayer observed by Jews and the nightly services held by early Christians in the catacombs. There are eight divine offices: (1) matins (midnight); (2) lauds (3:00 A.M.); (3) prime (6:00 A.M.); (4) terce (9:00 A.M.); (5) sext (noon); (6) none (3:00 P.M.); (7) vespers (6:00 P.M.); and (8) complin (9:00 P.M.). These hours are rather rigorously observed in the monasteries, but individual churches usually combine several of them. The services consist of psalms, antiphons (short texts sung before and after a psalm or canticle), Scripture reading, hymns, versicles (sentences sung by the choir and priest), and collects (prayers for the day). At matins and lauds, Old Testament canticles are used. New Testament canticles are used at lauds (Benedictus), vespers (Magnificat), and complin (Nunc Dimittis). These services afforded, and still afford, the congregation an opportunity to express themselves in hymn singing. The hymns were generally syllabic, based upon the eight modes, and strophic verses, and were divided according to liturgical and nonliturgical hymns. The liturgical hymns were rarely used by the choir during the mass but frequently during the offices. The nonliturgical hymns were written expressly for singing outside church and for private devotions.¹⁵

Nonliturgical hymns were developed by Francis of Assisi (1182-1226), who was associated with a movement called the *Laudesi*, lay brothers who sang dramatic songs called *laude* (singular, *lauda*). It is not known to what extent Francis was involved in this movement, but it seems he helped organize groups with captains. A follower of Francis, Jacopone da Todi (1230-1306), composed

many *laude* that were enacted by the lay brothers. These men were acting jongleurs who popularized Gospel stories. As they traveled in procession they would be joined by large numbers of people who followed them seeking forgiveness for sins and singing songs of praise. Structurally, the *laude* had a refrain, a stanza, and closed with the refrain again. This form was closely related to the secular musical forms of the troubadors and trouvères. In the north this practice had spread to Germany where the songs were known as *Geisslerlieder* ("songs of the flagellants"). In form and melody the *Geisslerlieder* anticipate the Lutheran chorale to some extent.

Eventually the penitential movements died out, but the singing of the songs continued. The groups of brothers survived in different forms in Italy and played an important part in influencing later musical practice. The Church councils had eliminated the voice of the people in the mass, but their voices could not be stilled outside. The spontaneous folk expression of religion could not be suppressed.

III

Music of the Reformation

MEDIEVAL CULTURE was preoccupied with the question, "How may I find salvation?" Civil government, arts and letters, music, science, and religion were all related in a very delicate mechanism that would shatter if one piece were removed. The Roman Church supposedly could destine a soul to hell or heaven at the signing of a decree. By claiming such great spiritual power, the Church managed to accumulate great temporal power. As a result it came to be preoccupied with temporal affairs. The Romanist concept led to great unrest and a strong dissatisfaction with the secularized Church for not adequately serving religious needs. The well-integrated doctrine and the ecclesiastical and civil hierarchies could not disguise the fact that the inner core of the Roman Church was corrupt.

This is not to say that religion alone was the determining factor in the Reformation. Other pressures and desires were a part of this movement too, although they were probably influenced by religion. There was economic prosperity in the hands of a few aristocrats which produced strife among the lower classes. Geographic boundaries were being lengthened, resulting in expanding commercial ventures at home and abroad. These changes brought about a corresponding increase in the use of money, banking, and the spirit of capitalism. Nationalistic sentiments began to rise as states were created, and resentment towards a foreign pope were rampant. Reformers such as Wycliffe and Huss simply stirred up the masses more, for they were able to show the difference between simple New Testament Christianity and the elaborate power and wealth of the Roman Church. Attempts to establish national controls on the Church, in opposition to Rome, failed to provide the strong leadership that was necessary.

A very important practice of the Roman Church that further increased religious dissatisfaction was the granting of indulgences. Originally these were intended to commute the penance required of a penitent sinner. The dangers of this practice increased as papal power increased and money was required in payment for indulgences. Parallel with indulgences was the conversion of penance into a sacrament, which was supposed to remove guilt and eternal punishment from the sinner but did not free him completely from purgatory. If for any reason sufficient penance had not been made in his life, penalty would be continued after death. This created a sense of uncertainty and fear in the hearts of the people.

The Reformation was the culmination of many years' activity of many groups of people scattered throughout Europe. Many individuals had attempted to break publicly with the Roman See but had met with defeat and death.

The Lutheran Reformation

Into such a changing milieu stepped a man named Martin Luther. Luther was a trained musician. He had a tenor voice and skill in performing on the lute, and perhaps had even tried his hand at composing. He was a brilliant scholar, having had the doctor of theology degree conferred upon him because of his mastery of theological subjects.

Luther inherited a great musical tradition. The Germanic tribes seemed especially fond of music, although missionaries among them in the early attempt to Christianize these people complained about the coarseness and nonmusical quality of their voices. A development from the mass was a type of hymnody called *Leisen*. These hymns were of a folk nature similar to sequences and were based upon the congregational response "*Kyrie eleison*." Finally, they degenerated into a noisy jargon repeated many times in succession. Gradually they were lengthened into poems, with the *Kyrie* inserted at various places in the text. They were never a part of the mass, but were used for popular occasions. Later came the lyric poetry of the minnesingers, who glorified love and touched the deeper human emotions. Their songs were recognized everywhere. Then there were

the flagellanti in the fourteenth century who wandered from town to town, their bodies streaked with blood, exhorting the townspeople to repentance. Their mode of religious observance was very similar to the *navi*' (see chap. 1), but both men and women belonged to the flagellanti.

Congregational singing was still unknown in the churches, although the people were used to singing religious songs in the vernacular. The followers of John Huss (the Bohemian Brethren) were among the first to use congregational singing. Huss was an early reformer who preached: (1) that the Scriptures should be interpreted literally; (2) that the Catholic doctrines of purgatory and the mass were unscriptural; (3) that church and state should be separate; and (4) that the Scriptures should be made available to the people in their native tongues. He was following, in some degree, the teaching of John Wycliffe, an English reformer.

Huss died at the stake in 1415, being condemned by the Council of Constance (which at the same time ordered Wycliffe's body to be exhumed and desecrated). Huss believed that the people ought to share in singing; and he, and his disciples after him, wrote hymns to be used for this purpose. These hymns were nearly sermons in verse, valuable for teaching but poor for singing. In 1501 the Bohemian Brethren published a collection of eighty-nine hymns which was perhaps the first hymnal ever designed for the use of the congregation. A hymnal was published in 1505 containing four hundred hymns. Other hymnals were published in 1519, 1531, 1541, and 1561. The 1531 edition was issued for German followers of the Brethren.

There is evidence that Luther came in contact with the Brethren. His views were similar enough for him to be accused of being a Hussite. It is probable that he also was influenced by them concerning the use of congregational singing, as he was quick to see that one way to win the victory in his battle with the Roman Church was to have the people sing their religion.

In 1522 a German preacher, Michael Weisse, was sent by the Bohemian Bishop Lucas, along with Johann Roh, to explain the views of the Brethren to Luther. They were appointed again in

1524 to report on the practices and the holiness of life of the Bohemian Brethren. Weisse was the editor of the German Brethren hymnal of 1531, which contained 155 hymns which were either original or translations he had made. Roh was the editor of the hymnal of 1541, and also the editor of a German edition in 1544 which had thirty-two hymns either written or translated by him. Many hymns by these two men passed into Lutheran hymnody.¹

Luther had recognized the need, earlier, of the people to be able to read the Bible in German, resulting in his own translation of the New Testament in 1522. The whole Bible did not appear until 1534.

Luther realized that there were some changes necessary in the service of the Catholic Church but desired to alter as little as possible. In 1523 he undertook to make the minimal changes necessary to express the new faith. This *Formula Missae* was in Latin. All references to the sacrificial nature of the mass were eliminated, restoring the meaning of the Lord's Supper to a more commemorative act of worship. Quickly Luther recognized that the new service would not be effective without explanation, for how would the congregation know that he had eliminated the sacrificial emphasis of the mass? Thus, in 1526 he came out with a German mass, with everything in German except the *Kyrie eleison*. Scripture was used to a greater extent, and the sermon received a more prominent position. Unlike the other reformers, Luther left the historic order of the mass intact. German hymns (called chorales) were used in parts of the service, and in addition Luther translated into German parts of the litany, which the choir had traditionally sung in Latin, and set them to chorale tunes for the congregation to sing.

Luther loved music. He had brought with him from the monastery a real love for the music used for the offices. This is one reason for his reluctance to change the service into German from Latin, for so much fine music would be unusable. Luther set himself to the task of reforming music for his service. He first changed the method of chanting the Scriptures from the monotone of the Gregorian chant to a method more nearly one of speech. Only one note was used for one syllable, and organ accompaniment was not permitted

to obscure words. He introduced different registers for the different characters of the Scriptures, such as Jesus, the evangelists, and the apostles. These intonations still retained the modes, with different modes used for different moods.

A second element of musical reform was the music of the choirs. Luther admired the great polyphonic music of the Flemish composers which took the tunes of the Gregorian chant as the melody with three, four, or more voices above in elaborate counterpoint. All of this music was Catholic, but Luther recognized the artistic value of choral music. He promoted trained choirs with the result that choral societies were formed and children were taught music in the schools. The German Prince of Wittenberg, Frederick the Wise, maintained a splendid court choir, which also sang in the church. A third area of musical reform was the congregational hymn. This is the point at which his doctrine of the priesthood of all believers reached its heights. All the people were once again allowed to sing in church.

The number of hymnals published by Luther and the dates of their appearance are subjects of great controversy among scholars. However, there were four collections which Luther supervised and for which he wrote prefaces.

1. *Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn* (Wittenberg, 1524) was prepared with the collaboration of Johann Walther, the cantor of Elector Frederick's choir at Torgau and a close friend of Luther's. In the preface, Luther revealed his desire for young people to be trained in music and the arts.

2. *Geistliche Lieder auff's new gebessert* (Wittenberg, 1529) is also called the *Klug Gesangbuch* after the name of the publisher, Joseph Klug. This book contained twenty-eight hymns by Luther and twenty-six by other authors selected by Luther especially for this collection.

3. *Christliche Geseng, Lateinisch und Deudsch, zum Begrebnis* (Wittenberg, 1542) was another Klug publication and is the first hymnal for use at funerals. Included in this work were songs adapted from the Roman Church with Luther's revision, five hymns by Luther, two by Michael Weisse and Aurelius Prudentius, and a

doctrinal preface which gives the evangelical conception of immortality.

4. *Geystliche Lieder* (Leipzig, 1545) contains 129 hymns, including the thirty-six Luther had written, his German and Latin litanies, and German translations of Latin collects.

In 1524, Luther also published two other hymnals.

1. *Etlich cristlich lider Lobesang un Psalm* (Wittenberg) was a pamphlet containing eight hymns. Four were by Luther, three by Speratus, student and biographer of Luther, and one by an unknown author. This is the first German evangelical hymnal and is often called the *Achtliederbuch*. The tunes were given without harmony to simplify the singing of the congregation. In later hymnals, four parts were indicated, although the custom arose of singing chorales in unison to the organ accompaniment.

2. *Eyn Enchiridion oder Handbuchlein* (Erfurt) contains twenty-five hymns, eighteen of which are by Luther.

Johann Walther, Luther's early musical collaborator, also published a hymn collection in 1566.

Luther possessed some knowledge of the craft of composition. Scholars are in disagreement on the number of hymn tunes Luther wrote, but twelve is the generally accepted number. However, his knowledge exceeded that of an amateur composer, for he was able to make musical judgments. He evaluated Josquin des Prés as the greatest composer of his time and commended other composers as well. While preparing the German mass, Luther wrote the music for the lessons and the words of institution for the Lord's Supper. Moreover, he strove for perfection in the printed page. Smudges or incorrectly printed notes in hymnals disturbed him, and he saw to it that the errors were rectified.

Luther's theology gains expression in his hymns, which include festival hymns, instructional hymns, and hymns of comfort, trust, and faith. Twelve of his hymns are adaptations from Latin hymns, four are reworkings of German religious folk songs, seven are metrical or paraphrased psalms, eight hymns are based upon Scripture verses, and five are entirely original (although his translations and adaptations have a mark of originality about them).

Luther found his authority for hymn singing in Paul's admonitions. He did not seem bothered by using postbiblical hymns, a question which plagued the Calvinistic branches of the Reformation for years. He had his congregations sing the biblical psalms where practicable, but also encouraged metrical settings of psalms as well as original hymn texts. The criterion for the selection of texts was the content of the hymn. Luther felt that the hymns should be evangelical in nature; hymns should be the word of God in song. Whatever text met this test could rightfully be sung in worship.

Luther's musical collaborator, Johann Walther, published the first collection of polyphonic music based upon Protestant chorales in 1524, the same year as Luther's first hymnal. This collection contained thirty-eight settings for three to six voices. All had the melody in the tenor, with the exception of one in the soprano, and were composed in motet style. Hence, the congregation had hymns to sing and the choir had anthems.²

The Anabaptists

Another group of the Reformation period is the one called Anabaptist. The exact origins of this group are obscure, for their roots sink back many years before the Reformation began. The term "Anabaptists" was a derisive one applied to those who rebaptized persons who became Christians as adults, or who felt that their infant baptism was not valid scripturally. The first group of Anabaptists seems to have risen in Switzerland. They were not at first distinguished from the Zwinglian reformers. However, Zwingli's views concerning infant baptism separated him eventually from the Anabaptists. Zwingli was willing to compromise convictions to promote his reform movement; thus, he abandoned as being impractical the teaching of adult baptism.

The most influential Anabaptist, and one who has been regarded as their founder, was Conrad Grebel. Other early leaders were Felix Manz, who gave the young movement intellectual direction without the loss of evangelistic zeal; Wilhelm Reublin, one of the first Swiss priests to embrace radical reform views; and Balthasar Hübmaier. Hübmaier was the outstanding German Anabaptist, who can

be remembered for three outstanding religious principles: (1) the supremacy of the Scriptures; (2) religious liberty; and (3) believers' baptism.

Distinctive beliefs of the Anabaptists, regardless of the country in which they resided were:

1. The priesthood of believers.
2. The sufficiency of the Scriptures in matters of faith.
3. Believers' baptism, and thus a regenerated church membership.
4. Separation of church and state.
5. The abolition of force and war.
6. The nonparticipation of Christians in politics.

The first two of these beliefs were similar to those of other reformers. Baptism and the Christian's relation to the state, however, were points of sharp contention. The Anabaptists usually did not immerse, but they did insist upon adult baptism as opposed to the firmly established practice of infant baptism of the reform movements. As the reform churches began to be recognized by individual states, the Anabaptist belief concerning church and state exposed them to jeopardy. Because of these beliefs, the Anabaptists were persecuted mercilessly by the reformers and Catholics alike.³

Their doctrines and their martyrdoms are expressed in Anabaptist hymnody. Switzerland, Holland, Moravia, and Germany all produced a collection of Anabaptist hymns. These hymnals were:

1. *Ausbund* (an abbreviated title), was published by the Swiss Anabaptists perhaps in 1564, with a second section added and both published together in 1583. The entire German title is translated as "A selected group of fine Christian songs, composed in the Passau Castle prison by the Swiss brethren, and by other evangelical Christians here and there."

2. *Veelderhande Liederkes* (1554) and *Een nieu Liedtenboeck* (1555) were two volumes of a series published by the Dutch Anabaptists. Thirteen editions appeared between 1545 and 1582.

3. *Ein schon Gesangbuchlein* was probably published by the German Anabaptists sometime before 1565. It is impossible to determine whether the Swiss or German hymnal came first.

The *Ausbund* deserves our attention, since it is still used by the Amish Mennonites to this day. The second section contains martyr songs by some of the early Anabaptist leaders: Felix Manz, Michael Sattler, Ludwig Hetzer, and Balthasar Hübmaier. A reading of the texts reveals nothing dogmatic, revolutionary or fanatical. Rather, these hymns present the moral aspects of the Christian life: faith, love, and steadfastness. An example may be seen in the martyr hymn of Felix Manz, one of the first Swiss martyrs:

With rapture I will sing,
Grateful to God for breath,
The strong, almighty King
Who saves my soul from death,
The death that has no end.
Thee, too, O Christ, I praise,
Who dost thine own defend.

Dr. Rosella Duerksen⁴ perhaps has made the most exhaustive study of Anabaptist hymnody in the English language. Dr. Duerksen traces the tunes and texts used in the *Ausbund*. There were three main sources of tunes: (1) liturgical hymns; (2) pre-Reformation German sacred songs; and (3) folk songs. Luther adopted many liturgical hymns and these were appropriated by the Anabaptists. Seven tunes in *Ausbund* are from plain song, five from sequences, and four from *Leisen*. Pre-Reformation sacred song was quite vast, and the Swiss brethren used three minnesinger and three Meistersinger songs, several *Marianlieder* (sacred songs addressed to the Virgin), and forty-one tunes from Lutheran sources.

Folk songs were the most popular sources of tunes, since they appealed to the people who knew the tunes and because text writing progressed faster than tune writing. Most of these folk song adaptations were what is known as *contrafacta*, the adapting of a text to a melody already used with another text. Luther used one hundred and seventy-four *contrafacta*, and the Reformed churches used one hundred and fourteen more. The Hutterite hymnal had a total of 179 tunes for 344 hymns; *Ausbund* had 73 tunes for 130 hymns; and the *Gesangbuchlein* had 95 tunes for 133 hymns.

There are at least 40 folk tunes in *Ausbund* and possibly as many as 42 more.

There is no notation in *Ausbund* or any of the Anabaptist hymnals. Printing music was expensive, there was a problem of locating a publisher who was willing to risk his business in printing them, and the people could not read music. The melodies were in the style of the Lutheran chorale, with an approximate range of an octave. Some of the hymns were excessively long; one in *Ausbund* contained 45 four-line stanzas. The hymns opened with declamations such as "Behold," "Listen," and "Awaken." The closing lines were usually some sort of benediction or doxology.

The Anabaptists were not artistic in their hymn writing or composing as were the Lutherans. They were a common people, religious, but with a lack of poetic skill. Their hymns present a picture of the doctrinal beliefs and the musical tastes and abilities of a large segment of Reformation peoples. Basically, theirs was a folk religion and music. The musical influence of the Anabaptists cannot be measured, for persecution is not conducive to artistic production. The Anabaptist conception of psalm singing can be seen in an Anabaptist confession of faith drawn up by Peter Riedemann, the successor of Hübmaier as leader of the group in Moravia. It is the longest and most pretentious of any confession in Anabaptist history, and was printed sometime between 1545 and 1547. It is stated in this confession that "the singing of spiritual songs is pleasing to God when it is done at the impulse of the Spirit and attention is given to the words. We permit no other but spiritual songs among us." ⁵

Continental Metrical Psalmody

Protestant metrical psalmody arose in the rather frivolous and corrupt French court of the Valois. Marguerite, sister of King Francis I and wife of the dispossessed King of Navarre, was a patroness of many of the leading literary figures of the time. Among the recipients of her patronage was the poet Clément Marot, who later became the personal servant of Francis I.

Marot had won fame as a lyricist and satirist, but having come

under the influence of the Reformation, he turned his talents toward sacred subjects. His first endeavor was to translate the Psalms into French verse. The first of these translations (Psalm 6) was included in a volume of poems dedicated to his patroness in 1533. He went on to translate other psalms as well, these versions being adaptable to the popular tunes of the day. They won acclaim in the court and throughout the countryside.

In 1542, Marot published thirty of these psalms in a single volume. This incurred the wrath of the church authorities, and he fled to Geneva. The following year Marot published another collection containing fifty psalms.

Upon arriving in Geneva, Marot was probably surprised to learn that twelve of his psalms had appeared in the Strassburg psalter of 1539 and the Antwerp psalter of 1541. These two psalters had been published by John Calvin, aided by a converted Carmelite monk named Alexander.

Two things probably influenced Calvin to introduce singing into his services and to use Marot's settings as a part of the Strassburg psalter. First, Calvin had been exiled in Strassburg from 1538 to 1541 because of his religious teachings in Geneva. In Strassburg he found chorale singing firmly established in the Lutheran churches. Secondly, the popularity and influence of Marot's psalms had spread until Calvin could hardly be unaware of them. This Strassburg psalter was the predecessor of the Genevan psalter and subsequent psalters in every other country where psalm singing developed. Prior to Calvin's arrival in Geneva, in 1536, the church was using an order of worship made by Farel, an evangelist from Bern. No singing was included in the services. In the Zwinglian church in Zürich, the worshipers were silent except for a few responses. There was no music in the church at Zürich for seventy years. Zwingli was a trained musician yet felt that music had no place in Christian worship.⁶

After surveying the situation, Calvin drew up his *Essentials of a Well-Ordered Church*, in which he gave prominence to psalm singing for three reasons: (1) the example of the ancient church and Paul; (2) the spiritual benefit to prayer; and (3) the pope had

Et tous ceux la qui par icelle front/
Pour tout iamaïs durement periront.

Psalmes II.

The image is a facsimile of a page from the Strassburg Psalter, featuring musical notation and Latin text. The notation is written on four-line staves using square neumes. The text is in a Gothic script. The page is divided into three systems, each with a large initial 'P' and a smaller 'P'.

System 1:

Pourquoy font bruit & s'assemblent
Pourquoy sont tant les peuples dis

Pourquoy font bruit & s'assemblent
Pourquoy sont tant les peuples dis

System 2:

les gens ? Quelle folie a murmur
li gens I mettre s'asone entre

Pourquoy font bruit & s'assemblent
Pourquoy sont tant les peuples dis

System 3:

rer les meine ? Bandez se sont les
pri se vaine ?

Pourquoy font bruit & s'assemblent
Pourquoy sont tant les peuples dis

Roy de terre basse. Et les primas

deprived the Church of the benefit found in the psalms by having them mumbled unintelligibly. Calvin's thought was to begin the training of the children to sing prose psalms to some sober chant; the people listening until they could use their own voices to sing. On his return to Geneva in 1541 Calvin required that the singing of psalms be made a part of the public worship. He was so successful in establishing psalm singing that in 1559 the synod of the Reformed churches of France decreed that every church member should bring his own psalter to worship.

The tunes for Calvin's first psalter cannot be traced to any known source. If the courtiers of Francis I would sing Marot's psalms to popular tunes, so would the Huguenots all over France. It was the ability to adapt the psalms to the popular tunes of the day that created the popularity of Marot's verses. Some of these tunes were adaptations of the Lutheran chorales, some of which were secular songs also. Later English psalm versions labored under the monotonous "ballad meter," but the early French psalter had many varying meters, providing for variety in musical rhythm.

Between 1541 and 1562 the Genevan psalter grew toward completion. The musical editor of all these smaller editions, except perhaps the first and last, was Louis Bourgeois. At the end of his editorship he had enlarged a psalter of thirty tunes into one containing eighty-three tunes for the psalms and two tunes for the metrical versions of the Ten Commandments and the *Nunc Dimittis*. Bourgeois had nothing to do with forty of the tunes in the complete edition of 1562. The authorship of these tunes is unknown.

Calvin was opposed to part singing, organs, and church art as "popish," preferring only simple one-line melodies for the psalms. He did not appear to be opposed to music as an art form outside the church. In the Preface to the Genevan psalter of 1543 he wrote:

Now among the other things proper to recreate man and to give him pleasure, music is either the first or one of the principal, and . . . we must be the more careful not to abuse it, . . . to moderate the use of music to make it serve all that is of good repute . . . and that it should not become the instrument of lasciviousness or of any shamelessness.

Regarding text, Calvin said, "We shall not find better songs nor

songs better suited . . . than the Psalms of David." An acceptable tune should be "moderated in the way . . . that it may have the weight and majesty proper to the subject and may even be suitable for singing in Church."⁷

Percy Scholes⁸ says that there is no instance of punishment for music in the records of Calvin's Geneva. He cites references in Calvin's *Commentaries on Genesis*, *Preface to Liturgy*, and *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which show Calvin's approval of music outside the sphere of the church.

This understanding of Calvin's attitude toward music is necessary to an understanding of Puritan music in the United States and in England as well. There are groups in the United States at the present who will not allow instruments in their churches (e.g., the Churches of Christ and the Primitive Baptists) but have no aversion to instruments outside the church. A few Primitive Baptists are averse to harmony as well as instruments, their singing being "lined out" with the aid of a pitch pipe (although this seems contradictory) by a deacon or the pastor.

Although Calvin was opposed to part singing in church, Bourgeois made some harmonic settings of psalms. Claude Goudimel published three collections of settings of the tunes in the Genevan psalter: one in motet style between 1551 and 1556, and two for four voices in 1564 and 1565. In the Foreword to the harmonized 1565 edition of the Genevan psalter, Goudimel informed his readers that the tunes were adapted to three other parts, "not to induce you to sing them in church, but particularly in your homes."

Marot left Geneva very suddenly in 1544, and shortly thereafter died. After Marot's hasty retreat, he re-embraced Catholicism. After nearly five years Theodore Beza filled Marot's position. Beza was well trained in law and theology and eventually succeeded Calvin upon Calvin's death, even writing a short biography of Calvin. Beza remained head of the Genevan church until 1588, but continued to teach until 1597, dying in 1605 at an advanced age. It is generally conceded that his poetic work is not of the same quality as Marot's, but his splendid scholarship makes his metrical versions of the psalms creditable in comparison.

Between 1539 and 1685 there were over two hundred separate publications of the Genevan psalter. Eventually, it was translated into more than twenty languages, some of the translations having several editions.

In analyzing the Genevan psalter of 1562 this summary can be made:

1. Marot translated the Decalogue, Nunc Dimittis, and forty-eight Psalms.

2. Beza translated the remaining 102 Psalms.

3. Thirty-nine tunes are new, the rest being from former editions.

4. Seventy-five tunes dating from 1542 were written by Louis Bourgeois.

5. Forty tunes may have been written by Pierre Dubois, the Genevan choirmaster, who may have succeeded Bourgeois as music editor.

6. Thirteen of these tunes found their way into the Sternhold and Hopkins English psalter of 1562.

7. Nineteen tunes were used in the Ainsworth psalter of 1612, some of them having minor rhythmic changes.

8. Thirty-one of the tunes were used in the Scottish psalter of 1564, also with a few changes.

The evolution of the Genevan psalter of 1562 was gradual. Its progress can be traced as follows:⁹

1. *Aulcuns Pseaumes et Cantiques mys en chant* (Strassburg, 1539) was Calvin's first psalter.

2. *Psalmes de David* (Anvers, 1541) was the edition of Pierre Alexandre.

3. *La manyere de faire prieres* (1542) was an edition containing twelve psalms without music. All of the melodies from the 1539 edition and seven new ones were used. Of the new melodies used, only one found its way into the edition of 1562. It has been called the "pseudo-Roman psalter" because of its circulation among Catholics under a false "imprimatur" which was later repudiated.

4. *Cinquante pseaumes* (Geneva, 1543) included fifty Marot paraphrases, with the distinction of including a Hail Mary, probably because of Marot's Catholic background. This was removed by Calvin in a later edition.

5. There are references to a Strassburg psalter of 1545 and one in

1549. The edition to 1545 is no longer extant, and the other is of doubtful existence.

6. *Trente quarte pseumes* (Geneva, 1551) includes eighty-five psalms, the Credo, et cetera. Thirty-nine of the tunes used in preceding editions were retained and forty-six new ones added. The influence of Bourgeois is extended to about seventy-five of the tunes, and shows that he utilized secular chansons (French songs) as source material.

7. The Genevan psalter of 1562, *Les Pseumes mis en rime françoise*, was the final version. There were at least twenty-three more partial editions than these mentioned.

It would be impossible to list the number of choral settings made from the tunes of these different psalters. Some of the settings made by important composers are as follows (the titles have been translated into English):

1. *Marot's Fifty Psalms for Four Voices* (Lyons, 1547) by Bourgeois.
2. *Marot's and Beza's Eighty-one Psalms for Four, Five and Six Voices* (Paris, 1561) by Bourgeois.
3. Various arrangements of Huguenot psalms were set by Goudimel from 1551 on.
4. *The Genevan Psalter in Four Voices* (1565) by Goudimel.
5. Claude Le Jeune made settings several years later in several different styles ranging from simple harmonic to elaborate polyphonic.
6. Lassus set several tunes in 1612-14 in Munich.
7. Jan Sweelink made settings in Amsterdam in 1612-14.

The number of settings of these psalms for more than one voice reveals the desire of the people to express themselves musically, or they would not have been so numerous or so popular.

The heritage from the Continental Reformation that has contributed the most in actual music is that of the Lutherans. From the beginning Luther organized choirs along with the congregational singing. One of his requirements for ordination was that a minister have some musical training in his course of study. The music of the Lutheran church has existed, has been enlarged, and has inspired many through the years. Yet this music cannot be classed as folk music—music emanating spontaneously from the common people. True, Luther employed popular melodies in the expediency of unify-

ing his followers; but as music was taught in the schools, it became elevated to a higher spiritual plane as the congregation understood and appreciated a better music than that afforded by popularized tunes.

Anabaptist hymnody cannot be thought of as being a direct development of earlier liturgical hymnody, nor can it be grouped with the Lutheran chorales or the Reformed psalm tunes. These influenced Anabaptist hymnody, but this hymnody was a folk expression of a vital faith.

The English Reformation

In England the Reformation took a turn much different from that on the Continent. On the Continent it was initiated by the common people and was primarily religious, a protest against abuses and the desire to worship freely. Following the religious changes came political changes. In England the opposite was true: political change came before religious change. The break with the Roman Church came in 1534 when King Henry VIII issued a royal edict stating that he and his successors should be the only acceptable heads of the Church of England. No doctrinal change was involved; there was no implication of religious freedom or tolerance. The English Church had simply exchanged one master for another.

Henry was a despot who wanted all phases of English life brought under his control. He resented the wealth and power of the Roman Church in England and had sought from early in his reign to increase royal power over church affairs. His desire for papal approval to end his marriage only brought to a head a struggle that involved political and economic factors far more than religious ones. Henry wanted to end papal control over the Church in England, but he showed no desire to institute Protestant reforms in doctrine or worship. He abolished the monasteries of England, for example, not as a religious reform but to suppress them as centers of papal sympathies and to confiscate their wealth.

During the course of his struggle with the pope for a divorce, Henry appointed Thomas Cranmer as archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer had earlier suggested that the papal consent for Henry's di-

voice was not needed. Cranmer was familiar with Lutheran and Calvinistic reforms on the Continent, and he favored some similar religious reforms in England. Such were not possible, however, as long as Henry lived. Cranmer bided his time, meanwhile instructing the king's young son Edward in Protestantism. After Edward became king in 1547, Cranmer was able to institute the changes that have prevailed, except for the brief reign of the English (so-called "Bloody") Mary, in the Church of England until present.

Though Cranmer had theological sympathies with John Calvin, his loyalty to Romanist liturgical tradition was much stronger than Calvin's. The English *Book of Common Prayer*, which he produced, drew heavily from the Roman breviary, the set prayers and Scripture readings for the canonical hours. However, he eliminated or modified many anti-Protestant emphases. Among other things (in line with the teaching of Calvin), he cut out most of the medieval hymns, largely leaving only psalms and other biblical hymns to be sung. Original hymns, as used by the Lutherans and the Anabaptists, were not allowed. The influence of Calvin was felt not only through Cranmer and the Church of England but through the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) and such independent groups in England as the Congregationalists and Baptists. Psalm singing thus became the rule in the English-speaking world, a condition that would not be seriously altered for the next two centuries.

Luther's songs had been known in England prior to the work of Cranmer, and some attempt had been made to popularize them. Around 1531 Miles Coverdale published his *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituale Songes*, a metrical psalter which included some of Luther's works. But this psalter had little success and was prohibited in 1546, near the end of Henry's reign. At about the same time in Scotland, the three Wedderburn brothers published their *Gude and Godlie Ballates*, based on Lutheran models, also. Their psalter enjoyed more success than Coverdale's.

The Act of Uniformity (1549) permitted the use of the psalms or any portion of the Scriptures for private devotions. Thomas Sternhold, who had been a groom of the robes to Henry VIII, much the same as Marot's relation to Francis I, for some time had been setting

psalms in meter and singing them to organ accompaniment for his own pleasure. The young Crown Prince Edward had heard Sternhold sing these psalms. After he became king, he caused him to publish them. Thus, in 1549 appeared *Certayne Psalmes, chosen out of the Psalter of David and drawen into English metere by Thomas Sternhold, grome of ye kynges Maiesties robes*. However, these were intended for private use, not church singing. This was the beginning of the English psalters, and Sternhold rightly dedicated this volume to the young King Edward.

After Sternhold's death his work was carried on by a friend and colleague, John Hopkins. In 1551 Hopkins added seven new versions to Sternhold's thirty-seven. This book was reissued several times during Edward's reign.

Upon the accession of Mary Tudor to the throne (1553-1558), Protestants were subjected to severe persecution, causing many Englishmen to flee to Strassburg and later Geneva, taking copies of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter with them. Coming under the Calvinistic influence, they published a new version in Geneva in 1556, the so-called "Anglo-Genevan" psalter. In 1561, after Elizabeth I's accession (1558-1603), two new books were printed, one in Geneva and the other in London. The former, edited by William Kethe, was the parent of the Scottish psalter; the latter was edited by John Hopkins. Both of these psalters contained the tune known today as "Old Hundredth" and sung to the familiar "Doxology."

Finally, after many attempts, a complete version of the *Whole Book of Psalms* was printed in 1562. It was collected from the work of Sternhold, Hopkins, and others. This represented in some respect the combination of Sternhold and Hopkin's verses and the tunes brought back from Geneva plus many others. This "Old Version," as it later came to be called, held pre-eminence over other psalters for more than two hundred years. During these two hundred years there were many attempts to improve upon it, but no other version proved as popular. There are over two hundred different editions of Sternhold and Hopkins in the British Museum, an eloquent testimony to its service to the cause of Christian song.

This psalter was printed in two columns with directions at the

side of each psalm which indicated what tune was to be used. Tunes were inserted within the text when first used. In these cases, the first stanza of a psalm was set to a melody line with the remaining stanzas printed beneath. At the end of each line of music was a check mark called a "direct" or *custos* (pl. *custodi*) indicating the beginning pitch of the next line. (Examples of these may be seen on page 46 in the facsimile page from the Strassburg Psalter.) The first edition of Sternhold and Hopkins to include any music beyond the mere melodies was published in four parts by John Day in 1563. Each voice part had its own individual book, being four books in one edition.¹⁰

The second notable psalter to appear in the sixteenth century was the Scottish. Leading Scotch Protestants fled to Geneva during the reign of Mary Stuart ("Mary, Queen of Scots"—to be distinguished from her English contemporary, Mary Tudor or "Bloody Mary"). On their return to Scotland, they brought with them the Kethe psalter of 1561. This they revised and supplemented by settings from Sternhold and Hopkins and some of their own. Their psalter was printed in 1564, but the Scottish psalter did not receive its final form until 1650. Although use of hymns was allowed in the Church of Scotland after the middle of the nineteenth century, the 1650 psalter has continued to be used.

Many later psalters were published in England, but the first that seriously rivaled Sternhold and Hopkins for general acceptance was not published until 1696. It is usually known by the names of its authors, Tate and Brady; but its title was *A New Version of the Psalms of David*, causing Sternhold and Hopkins to come to be called the "Old Version." With some revisions, Tate and Brady continued to be used in the Church of England for a century and a half. Modern English hymnody, of course, began early in the eighteenth century; but it did not seriously displace metrical psalmody within Anglicanism until the middle of the nineteenth.

The use and influence of the psalter is one of the outstanding features of the English Reformation. Psalters came to be bound with Bibles and the *Book of Common Prayer*, indicating the religious value people attached to them.

Psalmody in America

Although the Reformation as a movement had ceased, its direct influences were still at work a century later, when the American colonies were settled. This is evident particularly in the predominance of Calvinist doctrines among the early settlers and their use of psalters which had originated through the influence of Calvinism. The American psalters were the last vestiges of the European tradition started a century earlier. It will be seen that these books were not too successful in creating a permanent body of song that would remain within the main stream of evangelical Christianity. Of the four denominations to be considered at length later in this book, Presbyterians have been most influenced by the psalter heritage.

It is ironical that the first metrical psalter to be developed, the French psalter, would be the first to reach the shores of America, being brought over in 1562 by a Huguenot expedition to Florida. Leonard Ellinwood quotes the historian Baird to the effect that relations between the French and the Indians were pleasant. "Long after the breaking up of Laudonnière's colony, the European, cruising along the coast or landing upon the shore, would be saluted with some snatch of a French Psalm uncouthly rendered by Indian voices, in strains caught from the Calvinists."¹¹ In other settlements along the coast from South Carolina to Massachusetts, the French psalms were sung by Huguenots as long as they had their own church services. There is no indication that the French psalter was ever printed in these American colonies.

In 1566 the French psalter was translated into Dutch by Peter Datheen, also adapted to Bourgeois' tunes. This version eventually became the official hymnal of the Reformed Church in Holland, which had earlier used a collection of psalms entitled the *Souterliedekens*. When the first church in New Amsterdam was organized in 1628 by Dutch and French settlers jointly, they were able to sing together—each group in its own language. These same tunes are sung today in Michigan in the Christian Reformed Churches, excluding all others.

The first English psalms were heard in America in 1579 when Sir

Francis Drake landed on the coast of northern California on his trip around the world. He stayed there for five weeks while his men camped ashore. The Indians often visited the camp and were very much interested:

In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certain Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentively: and observing the end at every pause, with one voice still cried, Oh, as greatly rejoycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoever they resorted to us, their first request was commonly this, *Gnaàh*, by which they intreated that we would sing.¹²

The Pilgrim Psalter

The psalter brought to Plymouth by the Pilgrims in 1620 was one especially prepared by Henry Ainsworth for the fugitive congregation of "Separatists" in Holland and had been published in 1612. This book was used in Plymouth until the Pilgrim settlement was merged with the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1692.

Ainsworth was born near Norwich about 1570. He was a brilliant scholar, versed in several languages and known for his scholarly Old Testament commentaries. He was one of a group of Separatists known as "Brownists" who had gone to Amsterdam and thence to Leyden, and from whose fellowship the Pilgrim Fathers emigrated to Plymouth. "In 1609 Ainsworth had written, in defence of psalm singing in church, 'We do content ourselves with joint harmonious singing of the Psalms of Holy Scripture, to the instruction and comforts of our hearts, and praise of our God.' "

There are four points of interest connected with this psalter. First, it was a completely new translation in prose by a competent scholar at almost exactly the same time as the King James Version of the Bible in 1611. Second, the rendering of each psalm is accompanied by notes or commentary upon the text, illustrating the author's ability as a biblical expositor. Third, side by side with these prose renderings are metrical arrangements, adapting the entire translation to the use of common song. Fourth, there is a series of nearly forty tunes, set forth only in melody after the fashion of the time, using

- 9 But thou Eternal-one,
wilt laugh at them: wilt heathens all
have in derision.
- 10 O thou that art his fortitude,
to thee attentively-
will I take heed: because that God,
is my munition hye.
- 11 God of my bountiful-mercie
he will prevent wil mee:
on mine invious-enemies,
God he will let me see.
- 12 Slay them not, lest my folk forget;
make them abroad to stray
in thy pow'r, & down bring thou the;
our shield, o Lord-my-stay.
- 13 Syn of their mouth, word of their lips:
when in their haughtynes
they taken are: and let them tell;
of cursing and talnes.
- 14 Consume in wrath, consume and let
them be no more: that they
may know, that God in Iakob rules;
to th'ends of th'earth, Selah.
- 15 They turn at even, make noyse like
and city round-belay. (dogs;
- 16 They wander shall to eat: & howl,
if filled be not they.
- 17 But I will sing thy strength, & shewt
at morning thy kindnes:
for thou my fence, & refuge art,
in day of my distress.
- 18 O thou that art my fortitude,
to thee sing-psalm will I:
for God mine hye-munition is,
the God of my mercie.

PSALME 60.

This may be sung also as the 84. Psalme.

GOD, thou didst away us ear

thou didst us break: thou angry wast;

agayn-return thou unto us. 4 Thou

caused hast the land to quake, thou

didst it rive; agayn whole-make, her

breachies, for it moved is.

5 Unto thy people thou didst show
hard-things: to drink give us hast thou,
the wine of stonishing-dismay.

6 Given hast thou, to them that thee fear,
a banner, hye displayd to bear:
because of certayn-truth, Selah.

7 That thy beloved-ones may have
deliverance: o doe thou save,
with thy right hand, & me answer.

8 God speak did by his faithie,
I will be glad: divide shall I
Shechem, & Succoth dale mesure.

9 Mine Gilead, and Manass-h mine;
& strength of myne head, Ephraim:
Judah shall my lawgiver be.

10 Moab, my wash pot: I shall throw
over Idumea my shoe:
thowt Palestina, over me:

11 O who will me along-forth guide,
unto the citie fortitude:
who will we lead Aedom unto?

12 Is it not thou, God, that hadst thrust
us from thee; and within our hosts
that wouldst not, o God, forth-goe?

13 O give thou us help from distress:
because deceitful-falshood is,
the earthly-mans salvation.

14 Through God doe valiantnes shal we,
and them that our distressers be,
he wub-contempt-wil-tread-upon.

F 3 Psalm. 61.

no bar lines and being notated in old diamond-shaped notes. Concerning the origin of the melodies, Ainsworth wrote:

Tunes for the Psalms I find none set of God; so that each people is to use the most grave, decent and comfortable manner of singing that they know. . . . The singing notes, therefore, I have most taken from our former English Psalms, where they will fit the measure of the verse. And for the other long verses I have also taken (for the most part) the gravest and easiest tunes of the French and Dutch psalmes.

By "our former English Psalms" Ainsworth meant Sternhold and Hopkins, from which about half the tunes originate, but the rest are from French and Dutch tunes. An example is the tune "Old Hundredth," found in both Ainsworth and Sternhold and Hopkins, which is taken from the French setting of Psalm 134. This French setting, in turn, closely resembles a French chanson of the sixteenth century, "There Is None Here Without His Fair One." This tune, in turn, resembles an earlier plain song. A number of French tunes had a similar origin and found their way into the Ainsworth psalter. This French influence gave the rhythm of the psalter a variety of meter which the other psalters did not have. Ainsworth has no less than eight different rhythms for the six-syllable line alone.¹⁸

The melodies were probably intended for unison singing, led by men's voices, since the melody is set for a "tenor." Many sources indicate that the Pilgrims sang in parts, but it is not clear just what was the exact practice. If the tenor was supported, it would probably be by a bass below, an alto above, and perhaps a higher treble above that. It may be safe to assume that psalm singing took on the characteristics of madrigal, catch, or round singing of the time. This would give one explanation for the fast, rhythmical singing that caused critics of the Pilgrims to call their tunes "Geneva jigs."

In view of the worth of the Ainsworth music, it is a wonder that his psalter disappeared instead of exerting permanent influence upon American music. There are three possible reasons: First, the Ainsworth psalter came to be overshadowed by one that would be published in Massachusetts, the so-called "Bay Psalm Book." Second, the Ainsworth translations were in a freer meter, which made them

difficult to sing when the "ballad meter" became supreme. Third, the tunes for the Ainsworth psalter were longer and harder to sing than those in other psalters.

The Bay Psalm Book

The Puritans settled in the Massachusetts Bay colony in 1628, bringing with them the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter, already in use some seventy-five years. However, the Puritans were hardly settled in their new colony before they were set about preparing a version of the psalms for themselves. Their motive was to procure one which would adhere more closely to the original language than did Sternhold and Hopkins.

From the earliest days of psalmody in England there had existed two opposing tendencies. One was the desire for strict adherence to the literal text of the Scriptures, which usually resulted in awkward English phrasing. The other tendency was the human desire for literary self-expression as exemplified in Bible translations and the *Book of Common Prayer*. The contrast between the beautiful prose which the people heard and the psalms which they had to sing became increasingly evident to worshipers with each successive decade.

These two tendencies, together with the idea that other groups were in error and did not adhere closely enough to the Bible, resulted in the Ainsworth psalter. These factors were also influencing the Puritans. Cotton Mather, writing about the origin of the Bay psalm book, said,

Tho' they blessed God for the Religious Endeavours of them who translated the Psalms into the Meetre usually annex'd at the end of the Bible, yet they beheld in the Translation so many Detractions from, Additions to, and Variations of, not only the Text, but the very Sense of the Psalmist, that it was an Offense unto them.

Thus, in 1636, thirty ministers, "the chief divines of the country," undertook the task of translating and putting into meter the book of psalms. In 1640 the Bay psalm book, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre*, was printed by

Stephen Day, being the first English book printed in North America.

The printing press Day used had been brought over by the Rev. Joseph Glover, formerly rector of Sutton, who had raised funds in England and Holland to procure the press, types, and paper. In order to gain passage to this country, Day let his services to Glover for a period of seven years so he could pay back the cost of passage. It is not clear whether Day was actually a printer, but his name has stayed connected with this undertaking.

The location of the printing shop was perhaps in the home of Mrs. Glover, as Mr. Glover became ill and died during the voyage to New England. In March, 1639, the first things were run from the press: the "Freeman's Oath" probably a single printed sheet, and an "Almanack" made for New England by William Peirce, a mariner. Neither of these publications is said to exist.

The next thing printed was the psalm book in the following year, 1640, in an edition of seventeen hundred copies. From a deposition made by Day in 1655, it is recorded that the cost of printing the seventeen hundred copies was about \$134, that one hundred and sixteen reams of paper had been used, that the book sold for forty cents a copy, and that a profit was made of \$330. The book contains 296 pages, quite an undertaking for the printer to mass produce so many copies of a work with so many pages. Nothing is known of the binder, but the only binder in the colony was John Sanders of Boston, who had been admitted as a freeman in 1636.¹⁴

The new psalm book was adopted at once by nearly every congregation of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and for that reason became known as the "Bay" psalm book. In 1762 the last edition, the twenty-seventh, was printed in Boston.

It is not certain which of the thirty "divines" actually contributed to the psalter, but a John Eliot probably had much to do with the actual versification. An interesting discovery concerning the Preface of the Bay book has been brought to light by Zoltán Haraszti, who compared the handwriting of the Preface with that of other documents, concluding that John Cotton and not Richard Mather wrote the Preface. The documents compared are retained in the Boston Public Library and include personal letters of Cotton.

In the Preface, Cotton summarized problems about singing:

First, what psalmes are to be sung in churches? whether David's and other scripture psalmes or the psalmes invented by the gifts of godly men in every age of the church. Secondly, if scripture psalmes, whether in their own words, or in such meters as English poetry is wont to run in? Thirdly, by whom are they to be sung? whether by the whole churches together with their voices? or by one man singing alone and the rest joining in silence, & in the close saying amen.

As could be expected, Cotton advocated the congregational use of the psalms in English verse. But the version should follow as closely as possible the Hebrew original.

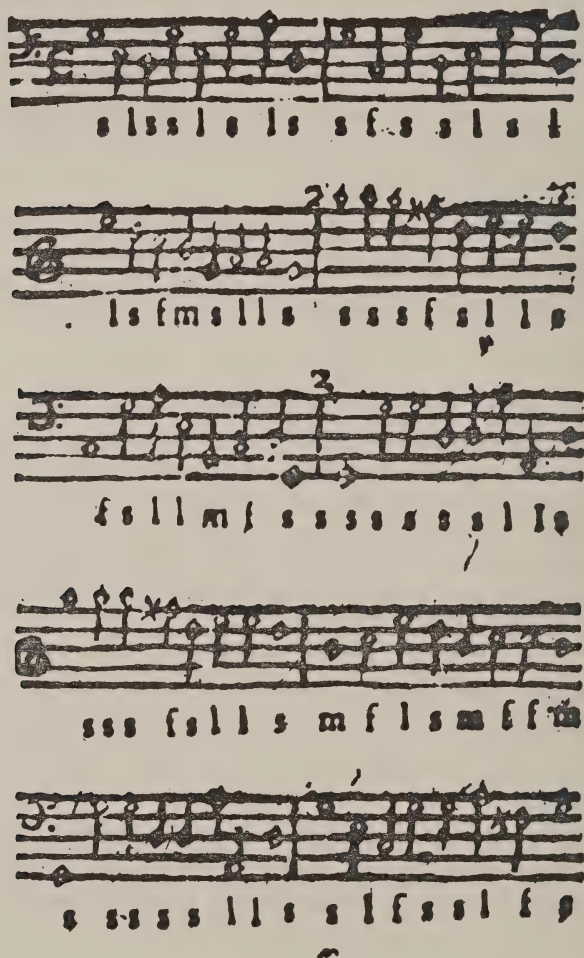
The first and subsequent editions until 1698 included no music, perhaps because no one was able to engrave it. However, "An Admonition to the Reader" in the first edition mentions sources of tunes to which the psalms might be sung:

The verses of these psalmes may be reduced to six kindes, the first whereof may be sung in very neere fourty common tunes; as they are collected, out of our chief musicians, by *Tho. Ravenscroft*. The second kinde may be sung in three tunes, as Ps. 25, 50, & 67 in our English psalme books. The third may be sung indifferently, as Ps. the 51, 100, & ten commandments, in our English psalme books, which three tunes aforesaid, comprehend almost all this whole book of psalmes, as being tunes most familiar to us.

Altogether the fifty tunes referred to in this "Admonition" are either in Ravenscroft's psalter, or in "our English psalme books," meaning, probably, editions of Sternhold and Hopkins, which included music.¹⁵

An edition of the Bay book is said to have been published in 1690 with music, but no copies are extant. The edition of 1698 is the first surviving book with music to be printed in the English colonies. It contains thirteen tunes inserted at the back of the book: Oxford, Litchfield, Low-Dutch, York, Windsor, Cambridge, St. David's, Martyrs, Hackney, 119th Psalm Tune, 100th Psalm Tune, 115th Psalm Tune, and 148th Psalm Tune. Most of them are in common

meter, but there are variations. Their notes are diamond-shaped, in two part harmony, bass and treble, and no bars except at the end of each line. The music was probably cut on wood which resulted in a crude piece of printing. Later editions used copper plates for the printing, which could have been done for the first edition, as



FACSIMILE OF PORTION OF 115TH PSALM TUNE
FROM 1698 EDITION OF BAY PSALM BOOK

there were several competent silversmiths in Boston at the time.

Although the Bay book reigned supreme for more than a century, there were other psalters printed: John Eliot printed a versification of the psalms into the Indian language, and there was a New England psalm book of 1650, which was probably a revision of the Bay psalter by Harvard President Dunster and Richard Lyon.

TABLE III: EXPLANATION OF PSALTER METERS

Meter refers to the number of syllables in a line of poetry or the stanza of a song, hymn, or psalm, and the syllables that receive accent. This may be illustrated as follows:

Number of lines	Meter names	Number of Syllables (for each line)
Four	Short Meter (S.M.)	6686
Four	Common Meter (C.M.)	8686
Four	Long Meter (L.M.)	8888
Four	10s	10 10 10 10
Five	10s	10 10 10 10 10
Six	Long Meter	8888, 88
Six	Long Perfect Meter (L.P.M.)	888, 888
Six	10s	10 10 10 10 10 10
Six	10s, 11s	10 10 10 11 11 11
Seven	6s 4	666, 4, 66
Eight	Common Meter Doubled (C.M.D.)	
Eight	Long Meter Doubled (L.M.D.)	
Eight	10s, Doubled (10s,D)	
Nine	6s	666, 666, 666
Twelve	Long Perfect Meter Doubled	666, 666, 666, 666

IV

Music of the Singing School

IT IS ALMOST impossible for us to understand the narrow attitude held by some of our Puritan forebears toward church music. The psalms of David were to be sung, not chanted, and serious questions were raised as to the authority of singing them to man-made tunes. The metrical psalms were considered so sacred by some that they would not allow them to be practiced outside of church, and the tunes had to be learned by countless repetition during the services. Some Puritans considered the tunes themselves sacred, and would doff their hats and make a great show of piety when they heard a metrical psalm tune, even though there was not one word of text.

Musical instruments were forbidden a place in the church, although they were permissible privately or out of the church. It is not true that the Puritans were against instrumental music. There were instruments in this country as there were in England. In his *Singing of Psalms a Gospel Ordinance* (1647), the Rev. John Cotton stated that the private use of a musical instrument was not forbidden. The Puritan objection was against the use of instruments in church because it resembled "popery."¹

By 1700 the early settlers had been dependent upon their memories as a source for the tunes which they sang for nearly one hundred years. A few tune books existed but in the main were discarded. There were very few trained musicians who could lead the music in the churches.

Gradually, the singing grew worse. A deacon would read a line or two of a psalm, give the pitch, and the congregation would sing after him. Then the next two lines were rendered in the same fashion, and

so on, until the entire psalm had been sung. (This procedure was known as "lining out" the psalm.) The fact that the services could be lengthened considerably by singing in this manner can be seen in the diary of a minister who related that, when he had forgotten his sermon one Sunday morning, he had time to walk three-quarters of a mile home to get it and back again before one psalm had been completed.

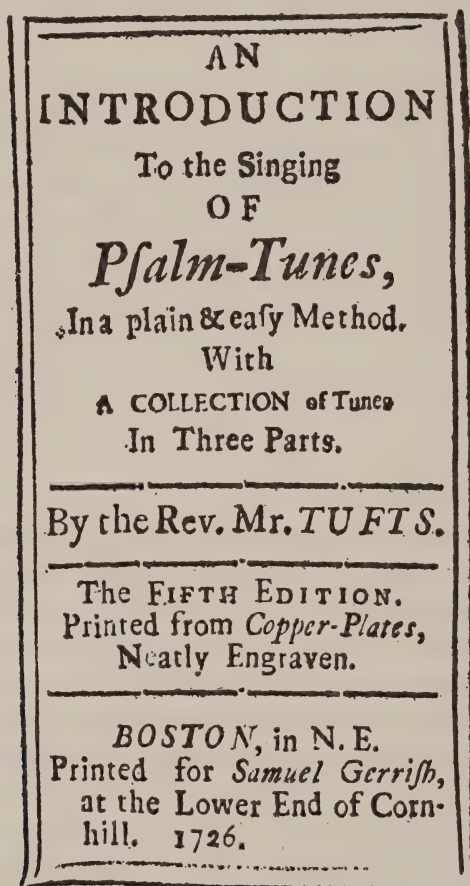
As the years passed, memories faded. The number of tunes that the people could sing dwindled to five: French, Martyrs, Stilt (or York), Dundee, and Elgin. These tunes had been handed down from generation to generation and amplified by grace notes, passing tones, or altered to suit any fancy of the singer. There was no standard pitch; if a person was not able to sing the given pitch, he would sing what he considered to be the pitch a fifth higher or lower, or at any other convenient interval. The process of reading line-by-line not only took time but slowed the tempo for singing. One can well imagine what sounds must have emanated from early congregations.

Early Reformers and Composers

With the eighteenth century came an attempt to induce the congregation to use "regular" singing instead of "common" singing. The ones favoring the regular singing, or singing according to notes, pitch, and so forth, were young graduates of Harvard who were actively preaching and writing in defense of their views. The Rev. Thomas Symmes was one of the reformers who argued most persuasively in favor of regular musical instruction to improve the quality of the singing. Symmes' plea appealed to the biblical injunctions pertaining to singing, and stated that the establishment of singing schools would improve singing in the churches, thereby enabling obedience to the injunctions of the Bible.

Material for improving singing was provided by the Rev. John Tufts. Between 1714 and 1721, Tufts published a pamphlet entitled *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes in a Plain and Easy Method*. The pamphlet was small, consisting of twenty-three pages and thirty-seven tunes arranged into the various meters needed. The

first edition merely contained twenty unharmonized tunes and a brief exposition of the rudiments of music. Eight tunes were added to it in the second edition in 1721. The earliest edition to contain harmonized tunes was the third in 1723.



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Some of Tufts's rules are:

The Tunes which follow are set down in such a plain and easy

Method, that a few Rules may suffice for direction in Singing of them. The Letters F, S, L, M, mark'd on the several Lines and Spaces in the following Tunes, stand for these Syllables, viz. Fa, Sol, La, Mi. Mi is the principal note, and the notes rising gradually above Mi are Fa, Sol, La, Fa, Sol, La, and then Mi again: And the Notes falling gradually below Mi are La, Sol, Fa, La, Sol, Fa, and then comes Mi again, in every Eighth.

The length of the tone is not indicated by different kinds of notes as today, for no notes were used. Instead, letters were used to represent the syllables and these letters were placed on the staff instead of notes. A period following a letter indicated a half note, and a letter with a colon was equal to a whole note, the letter also being equal to a quarter. The tunes in Tufts's fifth edition were set in three parts: cantus, medius, and bassus.

This pamphlet was small and was probably bound at the end of the Psalters so as to be ready for reference. In all, eleven editions of this very useful publication were made.²

In 1721 the Rev. Thomas Walter published *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained; or An Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note*, which exerted great influence for a number of years. The second part of the title indicates one of the terms used by the reformers to define regular singing. The book refers to common singing as being a way of singing in the country or a rural folk practice. It also strikes out at the highly decorated notation of the songs and the embellished manner of singing them.

Tufts's book was the first of many such tune books to appear in this country. The *American Supplement to Grove's Dictionary of Music* lists 375 of these tune books by two hundred known compilers. It would be impossible to list every one of them, but the following were among the most popular.

1725—a book of psalms and hymns in three parts was published by Rev. John Bernard.

1756—*Royal Harmony* by William Tans'ur (originally published in England in 1754), a collection of hymns, anthems, and canons, arranged in from two to seven parts.

1761—*Urania* by James Lyon, containing six compositions by Lyons and twelve pages of instructions in music fundamentals. Among his admonitions:

1. Receive assistance from someone versed in music reading.
2. Select a part and master it.
3. Sing high notes softly, but the low ones loud and full.
4. Sing so as to make the highest and lowest notes both distinct.

1763—*A Collection of Psalm Tunes, with a Few Anthems and Hymns* by Francis Hopkinson.

1764—A collection of 116 tunes and two anthems was made by Josiah Flagg, who borrowed from both Tans'ur and Williams but included some American tunes.

1764—*A New Introduction to the . . . Rules of Music* (in two volumes) by Daniel Bayly. The first volume was an elaboration of the earlier book by Walter, and the second volume was based upon Tans'ur and Williams. Some American tunes were included, but without composers' names.

1767—*Plain Tunes* by Andrew Law.

1769—*New Harmony of Zion* by T. Williams (published in England in 1756 or 1757). This work and the one by Tans'ur were eventually combined into one volume, resulting in a new interest in music in this country.

1770—*The New England Psalm Singer* by William Billings.

1778—*The Singing Master's Assistant* by William Billings.

1779—*The Select Harmony* by Andrew Law.

1780—*The Musical Primer* by Andrew Law.

1794—*The Harmony of Maine* by Supply Belcher.

1796—*Massachusetts Compiler* by Oliver Holden, Samuel Holyoke, and Hans Gram.

Most, if not all, of these compilers were actively engaged in teaching through singing schools.

The musical style in most of these tune books by native composers was the "fuguing tune," named for its contrapuntal harmonic structure. These tunes afforded choirs and singing school groups an opportunity to display their vocal talents. The musical theory of the American tune books was an adaptation of the English practice used by Playford, Tans'ur, Williams, and others, and was not the product of American composers as some would lead us to believe. Solmization was based upon the mi-fa-sol-la system (cf. Tufts's

system) which was finally displaced by the continental seven-syllable scale (do-re-mi-fa-sol-la-si) in the *Massachusetts Compiler* (1796). This book was very influential in making possible a uniform system of music theory that was understood by all (however, this "uniformity" did not happen immediately).

It is probable that all of these early composers were self-taught. The first native American composer of record is James Lyon (1735-94), a native of Newark, New Jersey. He received his bachelor of arts degree from the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) in 1759. The commencement exercises of that year included a musical setting of an ode by Lyons which, unfortunately, has not been preserved.³

Another man, who almost had the distinction of being our first composer, was Francis Hopkinson (1737-91). He wrote many songs and pieces for harpsichord, as well as psalms and anthems. His music is not considered to be anything unusual, but Hopkinson had an attitude about music that was professional, and his influence helped stabilize the place of music in our society.

Perhaps the most popular composer was William Billings (1746-1800) of Boston, whose "fuguing" tunes made him popular. Billings probably received no formal education after the age of fourteen, when his father died. He is said to have received private music instruction, and undoubtedly studied the *Musical Grammar* of Tans'ur intensely. By the term "fugue" Billings meant that the individual voices were imitative of one another in round form. In performing his tunes, Billings wanted to have as many people singing bass as there were singing the other three parts combined, with great contrast between the volume of the full chorus and solo parts. By European standards his music was crude, with many "mistakes"; but these "mistakes" are what give it its character.

Above all, Billings understood the popular musical craving, and he knew how to produce tunes and texts that would set people to singing. Some of his productivity was spent in the writing of patriotic songs and hymns. One such hymn is "Chester." Billings, the vigorous Yankee, composed a very stirring tune that was sung to his stirring text:

Let tyrants shake their iron rods,
 And slavery clank her galling chains;
 We see them not; we trust in God;
 New England's God forever reigns.

The foe comes on with haughty stride,
 Our troops advance with martial noise;
 Their veterans flee before our arms,
 And generals yield to beardless boys.

People sang this song everywhere. Soldiers sang it as they went to meet the foe to the accompaniment of fife and drum. "Chester" probably had a great influence in our winning the Revolutionary War.

Billings' *New England Psalm Singer* opened a new day for church music in the colonies. It was different from anything previously written, and the variety and animation of the words and music were well suited to the new spirit of freedom.

Other early tune book compilers were (1) Supply Belcher (1751-1836), who was an ardent devotee of Billings and who could write in both an artistic style of hymnody and in the style of the future gospel hymn; (2) Daniel Read (1757-1836); (3) Timothy Swan (1758-1842); (4) Oliver Holden, a Baptist (1765-1844); (5) Justin Morgan (1747-98); and (6) Jeremiah Ingalls (1764-1828).

Holden is chiefly known as a composer, particularly for his tune "Coronation," which is used today for the hymn "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name." His aim was to compose music that was suited to the worship of God. Holden was very unhappy with American composers for not writing more music suitable for sacred use. Holden led a very active life; he ran a music store, directed a choir, conducted singing schools, composed music, preached, and was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

None of these early composers were professional musicians but adopted music as an avocation. Billings was a tanner; Holden began as a carpenter; Ingalls, a cooper; Morgan, a horse breeder; Read, a comb maker; Swan, a hatter; and Belcher, a tavernkeeper.

The one hundred years from 1700 to 1800 were an exciting,

action-filled chapter in American history. Out of this political, religious, and cultural milieu have come many foundations of our national society.

Musical roots were extended also. Commencing around 1800, two parallel but different streams of church music flowed from the same general source. When the reform of singing had taken place, the more cultural centers of our country developed a more artistic type of church music, while the more remote centers developed a folk type of church music. The two musical practices must be considered as emanating from the musical frontier of the eighteenth century, and can be traced as an important part in the development of some of the traditions of the present century. These developments go well beyond the title of this chapter, but must be placed here because of their origins.

The first real development of church music in the artistic sense was largely the work of three men: Thomas Hastings (1787-1872); Nathaniel Gould (1781-1864); and Lowell Mason (1792-1872). These men, who were products of singing schools, took this institution to a height of development that had far-reaching effects. This development in a broad sense was twofold: (1) the development of music in the public schools and (2) church music becoming organized with choirs, organists, and trained leadership.

Hastings began his career as a singing master in Connecticut and later worked in New York. His view of the purpose of church music was almost detrimental to his effectiveness, for he felt that music should further the gospel regardless of any artistic merit in the music. He did much to promote correct singing in the churches despite his narrow attitude, and published many collections of psalm tunes and books of elementary music instruction.

Gould's career was similar to that of Hastings, for he also served as a singing master. Gould composed and adapted many psalm and hymn tunes and compiled several collections of church music and instruction books. In 1853 he published a *History of Church Music in America*, which proved to be inaccurate in many respects but did represent the beginning of scholarly work in this area. Perhaps his greatest contribution was in the area of children's music. In 1824

he conducted children's singing schools in Boston, Cambridge, and Charleston.

Lowell Mason

Lowell Mason has been referred to by many as the "father of American church music." It is rather difficult to appraise this title, for our knowledge of the state of church music in Mason's day is limited. He and his followers were very critical of church music because it lacked an artistic frame of reference, and it is from them that we have gained our impressions of the situation. Whether or not this title conferred upon him is deserved, Mason did make a large and lasting contribution to church music. Today his music does not appear to be on a high artistic plane; but by the standards he set up, it is superior to that which was existing at the time.

Much of the music Mason compiled came from the work of outstanding musicians, and Mason chose it more for its artistic than for its religious merit. If it had not been for the current folk hymnody, the artistic movement in church music might have led to a complete secularization of church music. Any tune that appealed to the public taste, regardless of its origin, was adapted for a hymn. And equal emphasis was given to *how* one sang. Mason trained his church choir at Boston's Bowdoin Street Church to such a high degree of excellence that it was known throughout the country.

Mason had two cardinal principles for congregational singing. First, the tunes should be written within the average limits of the human vocal range, so everyone could sing them. Second, they should be a complement to the text. Controversy on the latter point is not dead today. There are those who feel it is important to have excellence in the quality of music, regardless of the religious content of the words or the consecration of the musicians. Such a philosophy of church music tends to change churches into concert halls and to reduce worship to a social exercise.

Mason did make an attempt to compile good music, to see that it contained adequate harmony, and to see that it was properly sung. In 1822 he published his first compilation, *The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music*, published under

the auspices of the Boston Handel and Haydn Society, one of the earliest choral groups in the country. So popular was this work that it passed through seventeen editions and was adopted by churches throughout the United States. From the artistic standpoint, Mason's music was the first of its kind that was respectable by European standards.

In 1832 Mason established the Boston Academy of Music for the purpose of furthering work with children. The Academy was the first music school in the United States and taught fifteen hundred students—adults and children—the first year. The crowning achievement of Mason's life was in the action taken by the Boston School Board on August 28, 1838, making music an accepted part of the public school curriculum and placing it on an equal par with the other subjects.

In 1834 Mason issued his *Manual of Instruction*, a guide for singing masters. His basic principles for teaching music were:

1. Teach sounds before signs.
2. Make the child active instead of passive in the learning process.
3. Teach only one aspect of music at a time.
4. Master each step at a time before progressing on to the next phase.
5. Give the principles and the theory of music after practice.
6. Analyze and practice the elements of diction and apply them to singing.
7. Have the names of the notes correspond to those used in instrumental music.

This last principle is related to hymnal notation. It will be remembered that Holden was instrumental in introducing the continental system of solmization into America. Many books used the names of syllables in place of notes or the regular names of notes. Mason's principles were aimed at unifying music teaching and music learning.⁴

In 1832 the Rev. Rufus Babcock of Salem, Massachusetts, published the *Manual of Christian Psalmody*, which was a Baptist adaptation of Mason's hymnal *Church Psalmody*. Babcock changed the texts and eliminated those which did not express the Baptist view-

point. This hymnal was greeted with hearty approval by the Baptist leaders of New England.

In 1858 Lowell Mason and two theological professors, E. A. Park and Austin Phelps of Andover, compiled *The Sabbath Hymn Book*. The edition of 1859 contained both texts and music and a second edition came out in 1866. This hymnal was published in two volumes, one for Congregationalists and one for Baptists, each group adapting individual hymns to its own distinctive doctrines. This hymnal was very large, containing 1,321 different hymns and psalms.⁵

Singing Schools, Choirs, and Organs

Exact data concerning the first singing schools are scanty and almost nonexistent. However, records show that there was a singing school as early as 1730 in Charleston, South Carolina. The singing school existed many years, and justified its existence as a spiritual music training agency and as a community social activity.

Operation of a singing school was entirely in the hands of the individual who taught it. The teacher was responsible for organizing classes (which usually met at night), teaching them, and collecting the fees (which might be in produce, livestock, or cash). During the very early days, singing schools appear to have been avocational rather than vocational for the teachers. Often the teacher would travel in a circuit, covering one town each day and several towns in one area over a period of several weeks.

There is little information concerning the actual lesson procedure of the singing school. What information is available enables us to create a hypothetical singing school session. Benches or planks placed between chairs arranged in a large circle served as seats, with the singing master in the center. Each voice part was given a separate book; one each for the treble (or tenor), counter (or alto), tenor (or air), and bass. If the session was held at night, pupils furnished their own candles. If in the winter, each pupil might be expected to contribute something to the woodbox. The singing master gave the rules for singing and music fundamentals, such as rhythm and the sol-fa syllables. Instruction was given in time beating, and each stu-

dent was expected to beat his own time and follow his own voice part. Until Lowell Mason wrote his *Manual* there was no uniformity in content or method of teaching. The quality of the school depended upon the quality of the one in charge.⁶

Another contribution to church music, apart from hymns, made by the singing school was the development of choirs. As the size and number of singing classes increased, congregational singing was improved. The formation of choirs was a natural result, for the better singers began sitting together, and finally a special section of seats was assigned. These seats were usually in the gallery or balcony, later being moved behind the pulpit for evangelistic emphasis.

There was a leader for each choir (chosen by the town, church, or by common assent) who gave the pitch and established correct tempi. He was also expected to beat time in some conspicuous manner. With hymnals containing no music, the leader selected a familiar tune with a meter corresponding to the hymn. Since there were no instruments in the churches, pitch was also determined by the leader. In many churches the custom of "lining out" each hymn continued for many years after the organization of singing schools and choirs, and often the choir leader and the congregational leader would disagree about the manner of singing a particular hymn. (Records show instances of choirs objecting so violently to singing in the "lining out" fashion that they either refused to sing or would sing with complete unawareness of the congregation). The choir usually sounded the first chord before singing and would sing from memory, the music having been learned at home or in the singing school.

None of the early tune books gave directions for finding the pitch until about 1800, and then the directions were given for the pitch pipe. Some churches used a cello or other stringed instrument for finding the pitch. These churches were referred to as "catgut churches" by those individuals who did not agree to the use of any instruments in the church. The cello or bass viol that was used for locating pitch was often referred to as "the Lord's fiddle" in contrast to the dancing master's violin or the "devil's fiddle."⁷

Early in the nineteenth century the "quartet choir" began to ap-

pear. The term is descriptive of a choir that was composed entirely of a mixed quartet, or a volunteer choir formed around a quartet. This mixed quartet helped lead the voice sections and frequently sang solo quartet passages. Eventually the quartet choir tended to degenerate into a mere professional quartet. There usually was no organized music program within the churches, and churches sometimes experienced discipline problems in the choir during services. The volunteer choir had no organization; individuals were invited to "sit in" on Sunday morning. Such choirs were the only source of special music in less wealthy churches, except for occasional solos or small ensembles. In the wealthier churches, the professional quartet provided music but not necessarily the kind conducive to worship. Often there was rivalry among the quartet members, who might even vie with one another over who could sing the loudest.

The special music sung by these choirs was hymn or fuguing tunes. Fuguing tunes threatened to destroy the choir movement in some churches, for the music was so complicated and so detached from worship that the congregations were unable to respond to it. This led many pastors and churches to consider seriously whether or not to retain music in the services. Except among Episcopalians, there was a prevailing prejudice against music from England. Not only this prejudice but the lack of trained directors who were able to interpret the better choral music kept standards low.

As interest in choir music increased, composers and compilers began to bring out collections of music specifically for choirs. Among the first was *Sacred Dirges, Hymns, and Anthems*, by Isaiah Thomas and E. T. Andrews in 1800. In 1852 Vincent and Alfred Novello established a New York office of their publishing firm, which had been successfully publishing anthems, oratorios, and other good choral compositions since 1844 in England. It was many years before the Novello publications began to be used to any great extent in the United States. These two men published music in a magazine entitled *Musical Times*, which was very similar in format to Southern Baptists' *Church Musician*.⁸

Early hymnbooks were printed with only one voice part, which was adequate for the choir as long as the congregation sang only

a few tunes. However, as the people learned more tunes, choir members were forced to hold tune books in one hand and hymn-books in the other. To facilitate the handling of a tune book with approximately one thousand hymns, some churches built racks in front of the choir members so they could lay their books in front of them. It was around 1860 that hymnals began to be printed in much the same form that they have today.

The first American composer to produce suitable compositions for choirs was Dudley Buck (1839-1909), a capable organist, conductor, and composer. His music was written in a post-Wagnerian style, which makes it quite exceptional by comparison to other music then being composed for choirs. Buck also wrote extensively for the organ.

The struggle to get organs accepted in the service of worship was long and arduous among the evangelical churches. The early accounts of organs in churches are found among Lutherans and Episcopalians. The first "dissenting" organ in New England was acquired by the First Congregational Church at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1770. After 1800 there was little or no opposition in the seaboard states to the use of organs, but expense was a retardant to widespread use. Because of the large number of foreign musicians living in the United States and the growth of instrumental concerts, the earlier objections to instrumental music had disappeared, except on the frontier.

A small reed instrument called the melodeon was made in Europe about 1818. Succeeding improvements in this instrument enabled churches to have a kind of organ accompaniment. In 1846 the organ melodeon was built. This instrument had two manuals, four sets of reeds, and a pedal keyboard of over one octave. About 1863 the Estey Organ Company of Brattleboro, Vermont, started building a single-manual reed pump organ that could be used in homes and small churches. This is the reed organ familiar to many, since it is still found in some farm homes and country churches.⁹

Before organs became a permanent feature in churches, choir music had no written accompaniment. With the development of organs and the music publishing business, choirs were given new

importance. The growth of singing organizations in the public schools and communities also increased interest in improving the church choir. By 1900 churches could begin to have artistic music that was worshipful and appealing. It was still limited, unfortunately, to larger churches in cities and larger towns. Until the various denominations organized definite programs, there was a lack of impetus and trained leadership to develop church music.

The contributions of the singing schools and Lowell Mason can now be better appreciated. Mason's philosophy of music is quite different from the attitudes exhibited at the beginning of the Reformation, when Calvinists opposed sacred art as being "popish." Following Mason came many of his pupils and associates, none of whom had a desire or an ability to surpass him. Among them were H. K. Oliver, George Webb, William Bradbury, George F. Root, Isaac B. Woodbury, W. F. Sherwin, and Horatio R. Palmer.

V

Music of the Gospel Song

MUCH HAS BEEN written and said about the gospel song, both in derision and defense. This type of religious music arose from a varied background of other religious music types. Some of the hymn writers that will be discussed in this chapter had no idea they were contributing to a future movement in hymnody. Some writers of sacred music history and hymnology have referred to the gospel song as being a purely American product, which is true in part. It is perhaps more accurate to say that this country provided the best possible environment for the logical culmination of the gospel song over a long period of time.

What is the gospel song? To offer a simple definition is impossible, for there are types of gospel songs as there are types of hymns, and some are on the dividing line, making classification very difficult. It is possible to make some generalizations by comparing the hymn and the gospel song.

First, the hymn and gospel song both contain music and poetry, both are sung, both are based directly or indirectly upon Scripture, both are used in the corporate worship of Christians, and both are produced by individuals who claim a personal religious experience. Music should stem from a vital Christian experience in order to induce such experience in the hearts and lives of worshipers.

Second, the hymn has stood the test of time, has found a permanent place within the Christian community, and has found a place in the worship of all Christian believers. The gospel song is often short-lived, serving its purpose for a time, and then passing out of existence. A gospel song may stand the test of time and become an accepted part of Christian worship. For this reason many

hymnologists prefer to call proven selections gospel hymns rather than gospel songs.

Third, the hymn is dignified and majestic in character and worthy from the standpoint of good poetry and good music. A hymn should be the expression of worship in its highest form. Good music and good poetry are wed in great hymnody, producing a devotional expression of the highest form and value. The gospel song is lighter in character and usually provides for the singing of a refrain after each stanza. Often the poetry or the music of a gospel song does not reflect the spirit of reverence that marks a hymn.

Fourth, the hymn is usually addressed to God as an expression of individual or group communion with God. Its purpose is to direct the mind outward and upward toward God in worship, praise, and prayer. The gospel song is usually addressed to the people as an expression of personal testimony. Its purpose is to direct the mind inward to one's own experience and needs, to warn of the consequences of sin, or to give the promise of spiritual release.

The English Background

The immediate background of the gospel song lies in England. At the same time that church music was at a low ebb in this country, similar conditions existed in England. Many writers have tried to explain the decline of American church music as being a phenomenon wholly confined to these shores, which is not true. In the England of 1700 a leader was needed who could guide the singing of the congregation to a new horizon. The leader was Isaac Watts (1674-1748).

Watts was the son of a dissenting schoolmaster who later went into private business. His early childhood was during the reign of Charles II (1660-85) when Dissenters were penalized. As a result of his nonconformity, Watts's father was placed in prison more than once. Until the nineteenth century, Nonconformists were barred from attending either Oxford or Cambridge University, so Watts attended a Nonconformist school, receiving a good education and spending a great deal of his time in literary pursuits.

Unquestionably, Watts's greatest literary achievements are his

hymn texts. It is said that as a young man of twenty-one he complained about the quality of psalms sung in the worship services. His father informed him that if he could write better ones, he should do so. Taking his father's jest to heart, Watts bent himself to the task and produced the hymn text, "Behold the Glories of the Lamb." This met with such great success that the congregation invited him to have a hymn ready each Sunday, which he provided.

This was the beginning of a prolific career of hymn writing. Watts wrote nearly 750 hymns scattered through the following volumes:

- 1706—*Horae Lyricae* (second edition in 1709)
- 1707—*Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (second edition in 1709)
- 1715—*Divine and Moral Songs for the Use of Children*
- 1719—*The Psalms of David*
- 1721 to 1729—*Sermons*
- 1734—*Reliquiae Juveniles*
- 1736—*Remnants of Time*

Watts has been called the "father of English hymnody." This is not to say that there was no English hymnody before him, nor that his hymns are without flaws, for one can find defects in them. His title is meaningful in three ways: (1) he introduced hymn singing into the worship service; (2) by precept and example he gave impetus to others in their hymn writing, among them Philip Doddridge (1702-51); and (3) Watts wrote some hymns which no hymnal of any distinction can omit (e.g., "O God, Our Help in Ages Past").¹

Watts is considered as a definite influence in the gospel song since so many of his texts were sung to folk tunes and were used in camp meetings and the tuneless songbooks. The theology of Watts's hymns and their subjective, experiential theological expression seemed to appeal to the evangelistic efforts of the country folk. Watts did not write gospel hymns directly, but some of his texts are sometimes set to gospel song tunes even today (e.g., "At the Cross"—"Alas! and did my Saviour bleed").

The next major development in English hymnody came with the

work of John and Charles Wesley. Like that of Watts, this helped to set the stage for the rise of the gospel song. The story of the Wesleys, however, belongs so definitely to the history of Methodist hymnody that it will be given its full discussion in chapter 7.

In 1799 there appeared in England a collection of hymns that was to play an important part in gospel song development. This collection was entitled *Olney Hymns* and was collected by John Newton (1725-1807) and William Cowper (1731-1800). Out of a total of 348 hymns, many have had lasting value.

These hymns are characterized by the simple, personal faith of the compilers. Cowper and Newton both experienced dynamic religious conversions which "saved" them socially as well as spiritually. Newton had been a worker on a slave ship (and had served in a position little better than a slave) in Africa under a slave dealer named Clow. In February of 1747, he was able to leave Clow and start back for England by ship. In order to pass away the time, Newton began reading *The Imitation of Christ*, which disturbed him. During the night, after he had encountered the writing of Thomas a Kempis, the ship ran into a storm which threatened to destroy all aboard. On that night, March 10, 1748, the turning point came in Newton's life, for he prayed a simple prayer for God's salvation.

After an epileptic attack in 1754, Newton decided to enter the ministry, finally taking up residence in Olney in 1764 as curate. His pastorate there was quite successful, lasting for sixteen years, the last thirteen of which were spent in intimacy with Cowper.

Cowper had a different life and temperament from Newton. He was sensitive and delicate in health, suffering from periods of melancholia. Cowper experienced several severe setbacks in his chosen profession as a lawyer and in his personal life which prompted him to attempt suicide: by poison, drowning, stabbing, and finally by hanging. All failed because of intervention or lack of purpose on his part. Finally, he was declared mentally ill and committed to a hospital at St. Albans. He experienced salvation during his commitment by reading the book of Romans, which resulted in a complete reorganization of his life.

After a year and a half his brother provided him with a place to live in the home of an Anglican clergyman named Unwin. After Unwin's death, John Newton paid a call of condolence to Mrs. Unwin, which finally resulted in her moving, along with Cowper, to Olney in 1767. Cowper became Newton's lay helper, doing a great deal of visitation.

Cowper had another mental breakdown in 1773. Moving him to the vicarage, Newton encouraged him further to write as a means of regaining his emotional balance. In 1771 Newton had advised Cowper to write, having visualized a compilation of hymns engaging Cowper's collaboration. The final hymnal (in 1799) contained 280 hymns by Newton and 68 by Cowper (who undoubtedly would have written more if it had not been for his emotional troubles).

This hymnal is a revival hymn book. It received the same popularity and welcome as did Sankey's book nearly one hundred years later. Hymns from the *Olney Hymns* were printed over and over again in England and the United States, and were popular among Baptists.²

American Antecedents

The Baptists were responsible, in the main, for printing four out of the nine tuneless songbooks published before 1800 in the United States. The characteristics of these "hymns and spiritual songs" will be discussed in chapter 6 in connection with the first American Baptist hymnal (1766). These folk hymn texts were sung to folk tunes. In 1805 Jeremiah Ingalls (1764-1838) published *The Christian Harmony*, a collection of some eighty popular folk tunes that had been used for many years for the music of folk hymn texts. Ingalls' book did not sell well in New England, for the people there knew the tunes and saw no reason to buy a book containing them. But *The Christian Harmony* exerted a great influence in the South.

At this point it must be noted again that the singing school and folk singing were parallel movements. The singing school was a rebellion against a musical state of affairs, while the folk movement was a rebellion against a religious state of affairs. The singing school

had manuals of music, harmonized fuguing tunes, and anthems. The folk movement had only tuneless booklets until Ingalls published his collection. Ingalls was a Congregationalist, but he took the singing school techniques of harmony and tune books, and adapted them to the country Baptist folk tunes.

These folk tunes were numerous and were derived from many sources. Dr. George Pullen Jackson has made a thorough study of the sources of many of them.³ From a group of 550 folk tunes used for religious songs (many of them variants of each other), he was able to trace the origin of 347 to secular titles, most of them English ballads. Also included were fiddle tunes, marches, reels, jigs, and hornpipes. The major period of this development covered about forty years. It begins with Ingalls' book and concluded with B. F. White's *Sacred Harp* (1844).

Generally, these folk hymns were of two sorts: (1) hymns of praise, the text provided by Watts or another author; and (2) religious ballads that related a personal religious experience or told a Bible story.

A new type of religious folk song appeared around 1800, the revival spiritual. This type of song was born with the Kentucky Revival, a continuation of earlier great evangelistic movements that had been going on for years. Every possible social, political, economic, and religious factor was ideal for a revival.

The state of religion in general was low after the American Revolution. Baptists and Methodists were making gains, but a pallor of religious indifference clung to the fledgling nation. There were two main contributing factors.

First was the rise of deism. This English philosophy was fostered in America by Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and Benjamin Franklin. It spread as a revolt against Congregational orthodoxy and eventually resulted in the formation of the Unitarian group. Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine were not the only freethinkers, for several other leaders made no secret of their ideas. Deism became popular partly through the wide circulation of Paine's *The Age of Reason*, found in almost every community by 1798. This book was a favorite item of conversation and was discussed everywhere by

everyone. From farmer to college student, deism found favor among the masses who refused to think carefully, for Paine made fairly shallow attacks upon Christianity.

Second was an economic slump right after the War that started a westward movement of the population. This migration continued steadily until prosperity returned in the 1820's. The westward movement was composed primarily of middle and lower class people, among whom Baptist democracy and simple faith would be appealing. These people were generally too poor to buy more than eighty acres, the minimum amount of land that could be bought. Some were too poor to buy any land and simply became squatters.

Some writers have pictured the United States of this period as a nation on the move. Indeed it was. As the people migrated they lost some of their cultural roots. The lives and attitudes of individuals were changed by the rough, crude frontier. Institutions were changed, too. The frontier was highly individualistic, and social and religious traditions were left behind.

The churches that dealt the most effectively with frontier needs were those groups that were revivalistic in their approach. This revivalism was not confined to Baptists and Methodists, but these were its leading advocates. The revival was a way of taking religion to the people. The second major religious awakening in the history of our country started around 1786 in eastern colleges, but the most unusual phase of this awakening started in the west around 1800. Out of this a new type of religious song appeared; the revival spiritual.⁴

In 1788 the Rev. James McGready was licensed to preach by the Redstone Presbytery of Pennsylvania. Shortly afterwards, he moved to his home territory of North Carolina, preaching against the formalism and intellectual indifference of Carolina churches. Many of his listeners were not convinced, so he felt it necessary to move to Kentucky in 1798.

In Kentucky, McGready pastored three small congregations at Red River, Gasper River, and Muddy River, all in Logan County. His preaching was so successful that by July, 1799, his power over audiences began to be demonstrated visibly. People covered their

faces and wept; many fell to the ground, moaning for mercy; others cried out for a release from hell. The winter months suspended operations, but the next summer, in 1800, saw an even greater manifestation of religious fervor.

McGready had been joined by William Hodges and John Rankin, Presbyterian preachers, and the McGee brothers: John, a Methodist preacher, and Will, a Presbyterian preacher. News of events during that summer spread to other parts of Kentucky and Tennessee. So great were the crowds that gathered to hear these men and to witness the religious phenomena that food and camping equipment had to be brought along. Some came from as far as one hundred miles. Many came in wagons that were equipped for providing shelter. Others built shelters out of brush. The camp was laid out in a square with the center fixed for the services. A pulpit platform was in the center of the square, with hewn logs arranged in rows around the platform for seats. The wagons were arranged outside the square making a "wagon city."

Many who came were irreligious, causing drunkenness and immorality to accompany camp meetings. Some came to the camp meetings with the intention of disrupting the services, armed with clubs, knives, and horsewhips. Whisky salesmen also came in their wagons, making camp at the edge of the religious settlement.

The emphasis of the early preachers and following revivalists was upon regeneration. First, a person felt convicted of sin and guilt; second, he had to throw himself upon God's mercy for salvation; and third, he might have a great emotional upheaval. The Puritan forefathers had felt that salvation and assurance involved a long, arduous process taking many years to complete. The fact that regeneration was now believed to be instantaneous made these revivals a happy thing.

The singing in these meetings had its own special characteristics, too. It would be accompanied by foot tapping, swaying of the body, hand clapping, and head rolling. Often the singing would get out of hand, with several songs being sung at one time. Because of the emphasis upon personal faith and experience, the people sang about their own experience. They found expression in many of the hymns

of Watts and Wesley, and also in some of the hymns by Cowper and Newton. Generally, the use of this type of material was limited because of illiteracy among the congregations and the lack of hymn books. Therefore, the people either had to sing from memory or learn the songs at the meetings. There were several types of easily learned songs:

(1) The verse-chorus type:

When Jacob, the pilgrim was wearied by day,
At night on a stone for a pillow he lay,
And saw in a vision a ladder so high,
Its foot was on earth, and its top in the sky.

Hallelujah to Jesus who died on the tree,
To raise up this ladder of mercy for me,
Press upward, press upward, the prize is in view,
A crown of bright glory is waiting for you.

This heavenly ladder is strong, and well made,
Has lasted for ages, and is not decayed;
The feeblest may venture with faith to go up,
And angels will help them from bottom to top.

Hallelujah to Jesus . . . etc.

(2) The much-repetition type:

We'll shout and give Him glory,
We'll shout and give Him glory,
We'll shout and give Him glory,
For His glory is His own.

(3) The antiphonal type:

LEADER: Hail you! and where are you bound for?
Hallelujah!

RESPONSE: Oh, I'm bound for the land of Canaan,
Hallelujah!

(4) The call and response type:

CALL: Remember sinful youth, you must die!

RESPONSE: You must die!

CALL: Remember sinful youth, you must die!

RESPONSE: You must die!

CALL: Remember sinful youth, you hate the way of truth

And in your pleasures boast, you must die!

RESPONSE: You must die!

CALL: And in your pleasures boast,

RESPONSE: You must die!

(5) The one-line refrain type:

LEADER: Together let us sweetly live,

RESPONSE: I am bound for the land of Canaan;

LEADER: Oh Canaan is my happy home,

RESPONSE: I am bound for the land of Canaan.

Many songs contained words that could easily be removed for a substitute. If the leader sang

O brothers will you meet me,
In Canaan's happy land?

it would be easy to substitute "sinners," "mourners," "sisters," "fathers," or any other word for "brothers" that would fit the situation.

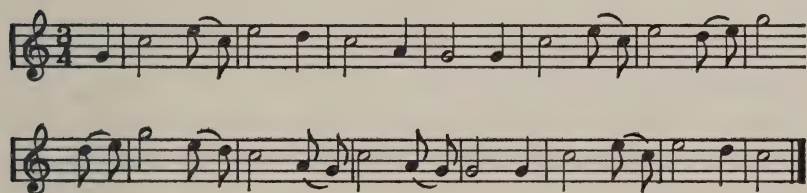
There was no "song leader" as we think of one today. Usually the evangelist would start a song, or songs would emanate from members of the crowd. Often, the evangelist would sing a part of his sermon with the congregation singing back a response. It appears that at times it was difficult to tell when singing, preaching, praying, and shouting were well-defined, as there seems to have been an almost continual commotion.

The people sang freely and with many embellishments. Their manner of singing was similar to that in England when Wesley had to issue his rules of singing. Scoops, slides, and other ornaments were used. Some compilers tried to incorporate these "extra notes" into the printed page, but with little success, as each individual was

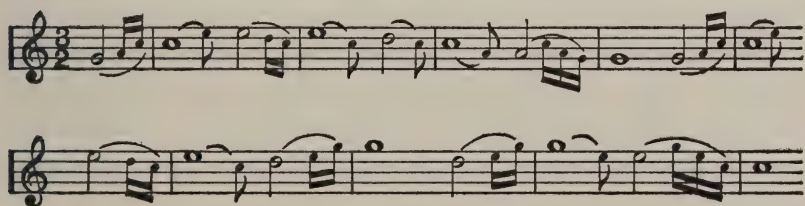
free to invent his own additions—and did. The intervals of the third and seventh were sung major and minor interchangeably, the singers feeling free to change them at will. Metric and rhythmic patterns were also free, with great liberties taken in making a melody more expressive for the individual. The melodies rarely exceeded the range of one octave, and many were modal in harmony.⁵

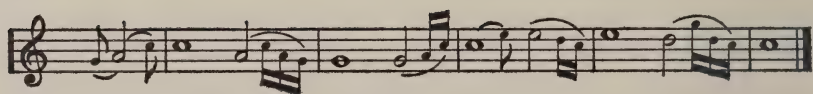
This “free-for-all” singing still exists in some rural and some Negro congregations in the South and in some Negro congregations in the North. In even some urban Southern churches, certain folk or gospel hymns have added notes. “Amazing Grace,” “When We All Get to Heaven,” and “Marching to Zion,” for example, may be sung in a manner different from the one in which they were written. The main difference from the earlier singing is that now an entire church sings the same changes of rhythm and melody.

“Amazing Grace” has an interesting history. The tune, under various names, is found in most of the nineteenth century folk tune books without a composer’s name. Many folk song collectors have recorded various versions of the song through oral tradition. In William Walker’s *Southern Harmony* (1845 edition) it appears under the title “New Britain” and appears as follows:

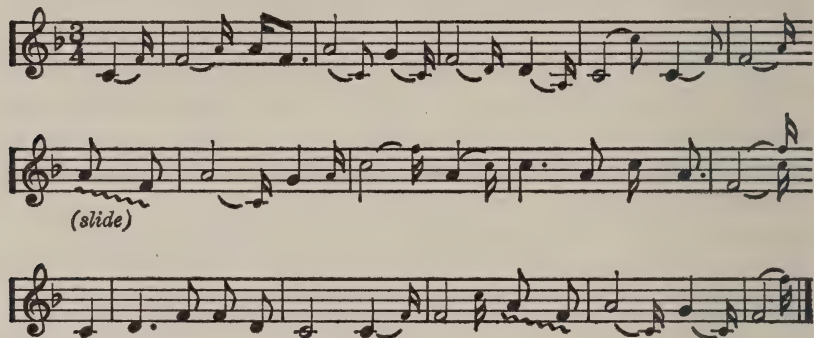


Dr. George Pullen Jackson recorded an ornamented version that is printed thus:⁶





Dr. Austin Lovelace has recorded another ornamental version:⁷

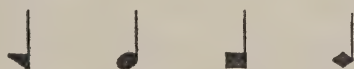


It is impossible to know what hymnals were used in the first camp meetings. Gilbert Chase⁸ is under the impression that it was probably *The Pocket Hymnal* (Philadelphia, 1797), which was a very popular book at the time. This book, like many others, contained only the texts. The people either sang from memory or learned the music at the meeting. The hymns of a folk nature by Watts, Cennick, Newton, Cowper, and Wesley were called “spiritual songs” to differentiate them from other hymns. This was true of the first American Baptist hymnal (1766) and others that followed, such as Joshua Smith’s *Divine Hymns or Spiritual Songs* (1784), David Mintz’s *Spiritual Song Book* (1802), Henry Alline’s *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1802), and many, many others. Since the compilers give hymns *and* spiritual songs as part of the title, it seems that they intended a distinction to be made.

Several things made the frontier preachers popular. They wore no special garb; their education for the most part was meager; and in all appearance they were frontiersmen like the rest. However, they were godly men desirous of bringing their neighbors to a personal experience with Christ. By 1830 the frenzy of revivals had died down and evangelism was an accepted part of the church program.

Folk Hymn Books

The tune books used by the rural folk in their churches and camp meetings were of the shaped-note system. This is a system of notation using only four syllables: fa-sol-la-mi, with a different shaped character for each syllable. Perhaps the first book containing shaped notes was *The Easy Instructor* (published in 1802, but copyrighted in 1798) by William Little and William Smith. Andrew Law published his *Musical Primer* (1803) and claimed to have invented a new system of printing music, but research (see selected bibliography) bows in the direction of Little and Smith. Little and Smith used the same shaped characters as Law, although they arranged them differently. Fa (faw) is a right-angled triangle, sol is a circle or round note, la (law) is a square, and mi is a diamond. Each of these notes had a stem:



FAW Sol LAW MI

SCALE: FAW, SOL, LAW, FAW, SOL, LAW, MI, FAW

Little and Smith retained staff lines which Law discarded. This is probably the reason why the teachers and compilers of the time adopted Little and Smith's system instead of Law's.

Lowell Mason and his associates were very outspoken in their opposition to the four-syllable scale and the shaped-note system, but their words went unheeded except in cities along the Atlantic coast.

There were many influential tune books in this type of notation. John Wyeth (1770-1858) compiled a collection titled *Repository of Sacred Music* (1810). He is credited with composing the hymn tune "Nettleton" ("Come, Thou Fount of Every Blessing"). The *Repository* contains pieces by Billings, Holyoke, Read, and Swan. In 1813 Wyeth published a supplement intended particularly for the Methodists. This *Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second*, is a primary source of folk hymns, as it was used in camp meetings and revivals. Many of the Southern tune-book compilers borrowed

extensively from Wyeth's compilation. Irving Lowens has identified the Rev. Elkanah Kelsay Dare (1782-1826) as the author of a theoretical work on music (which does not seem to have been published). Dare is named the composer of some thirteen tunes in Wyeth's *Repository*. This fact makes him one of the initiators of the Southern revival song movement. Wyeth leaned heavily upon this unpublished treatise, and Dare perhaps was more responsible for the final compilation than Wyeth.⁹

Of the many compilations in shaped notes, one compiler of importance to Baptists is William (Singin' Billy) Walker (1809-75). Walker was born and raised in the South, and in 1835 he published *The Southern Harmony, and Musical Companion*. This book was intended for congregational use in "Christian churches of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies." The collection contained a "choice collection of tunes, hymns, psalms, odes, and anthems . . . from the most eminent authors in the United States," along with nearly one hundred tunes "which have never before been published."

In the preface to the 1835 edition, Walker explained that he had listed himself as the composer for many tunes never before notated. In all probability, these were many of the folk hymns that had been sung for years, but never put into notation.

Walker's book provided tunes for many Baptists, because the tunes were adapted to the meters found in Watts's *Hymns and Psalms*, Mercer's *Cluster*, Dossey's *Choice*, the *Dover Selection*, and the *Baptist Harmony*, all influential collections of texts used by Southern Baptists. *Southern Harmony* went through four editions, the last in 1854, and Walker claimed to have sold 600,000 copies. The original edition contained 209 songs, twenty-five of which Walker claimed to have composed. In later editions he claimed additional songs as his work, bringing the total to forty.¹⁰

Another very influential compilation was one by B. F. White (1800-79) entitled *The Sacred Harp* (1844). White was born in Spartanburg, South Carolina, and in later life moved to Georgia. Like other singing teachers, he was largely self-taught. White is pictured as being a very kindly person, even giving free music lessons

to those who could not afford to pay. He was a Baptist who associated freely with Christians of other denominations.

Another Baptist who compiled a songbook in this tradition was John Gordon McCurry (1821-86) who published the *Social Harp* around 1855. The word "social" must be understood today as "congressional." McCurry was in contact with Walker and White, but his book did not have the acceptance that theirs did.

In 1845 the Southern Musical Convention was organized with White as the president. Later, in 1852, the Chattahoochee Musical Convention was organized; and these two groups were the chief centers of *Sacred Harp* activity. The annual conventions brought together many singers for "singings" that lasted several days, a custom still practiced in parts of the South today. The *Sacred Harp* has the longest continuous history of any of the shaped-note books, being in print and in use from 1844 to the present. Revisions appeared in 1850, 1859, 1869, 1911, and 1936 (Denson Revision).

Besides the regular notation and the shaped-note system, there were at least two other systems of making notes. One is "sausage" notation. The notes were made like regular notation, except stretched out to a greater length.

Another type was the substitution of numbers for notes. Dr. Jackson¹¹ lists four different types of numeral notation, including that of Thomas J. Harrison, illustrated here. This system was very much like the one by John Tufts, except numbers were used instead of letters. Each scale step had a number, with the keynote always "1" at the top and bottom. Duration of pitch was indicated by dots and dashes. Rhythm symbols had a series of commas and dots as a substitution. "Amazing Grace" looked like this:

5g								
A		1—31		3—2		1—		1—31 1—2 5 . R
3s	5	„		6	5—5	„		

5g—the fifth key of the grand scale, or G major

A—the "air" or tune

R—a rest

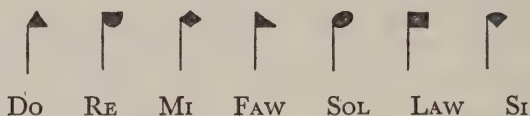
3s—triple meter, slow

„—an eighth note

—=the lengthening of a tone one-half its value

The numbers indicate the scale steps of the melody. The two lines form the staff, with notes below or above the scale being placed above or below these two lines.

From about 1832 on, an attempt was made to use the continental system of solmization with shaped notes. Several different systems were invented, but the most successful system was the one by Jesse B. Aiken of Philadelphia. Aiken simply added three more shapes to the existing four that had been in use:



His collection, the *Christian Minstrel* (1846), was the first one to incorporate this new system and had gone through 171 editions by 1873.

Walker's *Southern Harmony* (1854 edition) had a page entitled "The Different Plans of Notation" which discussed the various types of notation. This statement favors the four-shape system. However in 1866 Walker published his *Christian Harmony* in which his own shaped-note system was used. In the preface, Walker devoted a page to the "Seven-Syllable Character-Note Singing, the Quickest and Most Desirable Method Known" and why he adopted it. His notes were the same as Aiken's on the traditional four shapes but different on the three new ones. Jackson¹² gives a table of seven different types of seven-shape notation, including those of Aiken and Walker.

Professional Revivalism

The so-called "professional" evangelist arose out of the interest created by the Kentucky Revival. One of the earliest was Asahel Nettleton (1783-1843). Nettleton was licensed to preach in 1811 and spent his life in evangelistic-missionary activities. In 1824 he compiled a hymnbook, entitled *Village Hymns*, feeling a great need for good hymns. Nettleton was against anything erratic in

religion, and this collection of hymns was supposed to give prosperity and propriety to organized religion. *Village Hymns* went through several editions and enjoyed an extensive circulation.

Another early evangelist was Charles G. Finney (1792-1875), a brilliant man and exceptional preacher, but possessor of little formal education. He held a middle ground between the well-educated minister and the rough circuit rider. Thomas Hastings worked with Finney as music director for many of his campaigns. When Finney accepted the pastorate of a Presbyterian church in New York City in 1832, Hastings came along as musical director for the church. Finney had boasted that he helped to bring about the use of choirs in revival services. Well he might have, for Finney himself was a choir director prior to his conversion. The influence of the Finney revivals prompted Joshua Leavitt to compile his hymnal the *Christian Lyre*.

Until the organization of home missionary societies, evangelistic efforts were conducted by local churches and pastors. Baptists, particularly, had annual associational meetings that resembled the fervor of the camp meeting. In 1819 the Methodist Missionary Society was organized; in 1832 the American Baptist Home Mission Society was formed.

The organization of these various groups helped to stabilize evangelistic efforts. Instead of being independent of, and isolated from, denominational emphases and efforts, the churches could now become a part of a greater effort. Denominational cohesion also tended to weaken the camp meetings which were often co-operative enterprises between several denominations.

After the Civil War the frontier religious groups underwent a big cultural change. This change was marked by the increasing number of colleges and seminaries. Coupled with cultural changes was the rapid growth of cities, creating new evangelistic problems. Camp meetings tactics did not work in a large city. As a result, more local churches began sponsoring their own revival meetings.

A new evangelistic force gaining impetus out of the Kentucky Revival was the Sunday school movement. A few churches had

established such schools prior to 1800, but the movement lacked the impetus for growth. The changes that made the camp meeting obsolete were ripe for the growth and development of the Sunday school. The American Sunday School Union was founded in 1824, with the purpose of evangelising new territories by the establishment of new Sunday schools.

At first, the Sunday school was primarily an organization for children and youth. The songs of the camp meetings and singing schools were found to be inappropriate for children to sing. Thus, a need arose for specific Sunday school collections for children. Isaac Watts had published his *Divine and Moral Songs for the Use of Children*, and Charles Wesley his *Hymns for Children*. An examination of the contents of these two books reveals their lack of appeal:

Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
 For God hath made them so;
 Let bears and lions growl and fight
 For 'tis their nature to.
 But, children, you should never let
 Such angry passions rise;
 Your little hands were never meant
 To tear each other's eyes!

WATTS

And am I only born to die?
 And must I suddenly comply
 With Nature's stern decree?
 What after death for me remains?
 Celestial joys, or hellish pains,
 To all eternity?

WESLEY

There was an immediate reaction against this type of music for children. It was not long before the market was flooded with songs for use in the Sunday school with cheerful verse and "catchy" music. Many of these songbooks were edited by men associated with the early development of the gospel song, such as William Bradbury, George F. Root, and Robert Lowry. Their desire was to produce

the kind of songs that children could learn and sing very easily.

In terms of today's standards, many of their songs left much to be desired. Unfortunately, even today many churches do not give enough attention to selecting good hymnals for Sunday school use. It has been only in the last few years that artistic musical standards have influenced the selection of songs for children. This was not brought about from within the churches, but has resulted from the work of concerned music educators.

An important compiler of Sunday school songs was Philip P. Bliss (1838-76), a musical product of the "singin' convention," having been associated with J. G. Towner, father of D. B. Towner, and later with William B. Bradbury. Bliss had his first song accepted for publication in 1863, when the company of Root and Cady sent Bliss a flute in exchange for a song. It was not long until he was associated with the company in giving concerts and holding "conventions."

Bliss met Dwight L. Moody in 1869, and after an experience with evangelistic music he decided that that should be his vocation. He became music director of the First Congregational Church in Chicago and remained there three years, leaving to become an evangelistic singer with Major Whittle.

Bliss published many collections of songs for Sunday school use. Among them were *The Charm* (1871), *The Song Tree* (1872), *The Joy* (1873), and *Sunshine for Sunday Schools* (1873). Further, he published *Gospel Songs for Gospel Meetings* (1874), and he collaborated with Ira Sankey on *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* (1875).

It would be difficult to define gospel songs as a type different from Sunday school songs. Sunday schools were recognized as possessing great evangelistic potentiality, and the songs sung meet the definition for a gospel song. The same thing may be said of the evangelistic songs of the YMCA.

The title "gospel song" arose in the era of the Moody-Sankey revivals. Moody had come to the fore as an evangelist for the YMCA during the Civil War. The singing of these meetings was peppy and rhythmical, designed to catch the feelings of men in

battle. In the London revival of 1873 Sankey used a collection of hymns by Philip Phillips, entitled *Hallowed Songs*. Phillips, an evangelist-singer, had been quite successful in compiling Sunday school songbooks. Phillips and Moody had had some association previously, and it is claimed that Phillips was the first one to introduce the religious solo into a service. Services that he led—employing congregational, choral, and solo singing—proved to be extremely popular, both here and in England. This precedent probably influenced Moody and Sankey a great deal.

The development of the gospel song marks the end of a long trail which started in the Old Testament, where it has been seen that secular tunes were incorporated into worship. In the early church individual worshipers were able to express their personal faith in a sing-song muttering. Even when the Catholic Church had suspended congregational singing, a private hymnody existed outside the church. The source of many Reformation tunes was in secular tunes. Folk tunes played an important part in providing psalter music. And, in this country, the folk hymn, the camp meeting song, and the Sunday school song all made a contribution directly to the development of the gospel song.

Thus, it can be seen that the gospel song is the culmination of those movements which came before it. Some of the texts by Watts, Wesley, Cowper, and Newton have become gospel songs because of the musical setting and the addition of a refrain (which probably came from the camp meeting singing). The gospel song is both secular and sacred in nature, a factor which makes it hard to evaluate its worthiness.

The gospel song has proved to be extremely effective in evangelism because of the subjective emphasis of evangelism. Everything is personal—sin, Saviour, and commitment—and a hymnody that expresses this personal feeling (set to an easy, singable, rhythmic tune) is popular. Hymns are expressive of a mature Christian experience, and are often meaningless to those who have never had a personal religious experience. Since evangelism is directed to those who are outside Christianity, gospel songs are directed toward them.

The real vogue of the gospel song came with the Moody-Sankey revivals in England in 1873. Dwight L. Moody was musically ignorant as far as theoretical knowledge is concerned, but he did recognize the value of music in evangelism that resulted in a stirred congregation. Any song that did not produce a response was not good music to Moody's way of thinking. Moody also recognized that music for revival campaigns in the new, bustling cities and the well-established churches had to be different from the free-wheeling camp meeting song or the too-often trite Sunday school song. Cultural changes had produced a need for new tactics in evangelism. He needed an individual who could induce the crowds to sing; an individual who could touch the emotions with his solo voice; and an individual who could even produce new, special songs if the need arose. That individual was Ira Sankey.

Dwight L. Moody's command to Sankey was like that in the New Testament: "Come, follow me." After much persuasion, Sankey complied with Moody's request, and the revival in England was their first big success. Sankey was primarily a soloist accompanying himself on an Estey organ. For congregational singing he used Philip Phillips' *Hallowed Songs*, to which he added some songs of his own. Sankey's songs proved to be so popular that he wrote the publisher of *Hallowed Songs* for permission to publish an edition of that book with his songs included. When permission was denied, he had twenty-three of his songs published, which became the nucleus for the *Moody and Sankey Hymn Book*. The royalties amounted to a large sum, not any of which Moody or Sankey accepted or wished to receive. Instead, they left the money in England to carry on the work they had started.

Upon returning to the United States, Sankey decided to publish his songs, including them in a previously published book entitled *Gospel Hymns* by P. P. Bliss and Ira Sankey. This was published in 1875, and was revised and added to until *Gospel Hymns No. 6* appeared in 1891. From the time of this venture, Bliss became associated with Moody and Sankey in their revival campaigns. Sankey has been credited with originating the term "gospel song," but Bliss's book of 1874 first used the phrase in a title.

Sankey and most of the other singers in revivals were primarily soloists. They did not try any "tricks" to induce the crowds or the choirs to sing. The choir was the real leader of congregational singing, with the evangelistic singer directing the choir. Accompaniment was usually provided by a pump organ.

A book entitled *Handbook of Revival* by Henry C. Fish (1874) gives some interesting requirements for revival music:

1. All the congregation should be supplied with the hymns and tunes, and it can be done more cheaply by little books.
2. Let the leader be in front of the congregation, before the pulpit, and nearly on a level with the pews.
3. Use a given hymn always with the same tune.
4. Use a book in which the hymn and tune are upon one page.
5. The connection of the hymn should not be broken by interludes, or long pauses.
6. The verses in any one singing should be few; seldom more than two or three.
7. The singing of a familiar hymn will often be more spirited if the reading of it be omitted.
8. Use tunes that are strictly congregational in their structure.
9. If new tunes cannot be learned, use such as are already familiar.
10. Let the sentiment of the hymns, in any given meeting, be uniform from beginning to end. Keep to the "key note," in this respect, throughout: otherwise the mind is turned off from the main point of the meeting.
11. Let everything bend to the one object of awakening, edifying and saving men; and do it "heartily, as unto the Lord."

The forerunner of the evangelistic song leader was Charles Alexander. Alexander was born in Tennessee and received his training at the Moody Bible Institute. His tactics were an effort to keep the choir and the congregation happy for half an hour or more before the revival speaker appeared. His personality was exemplified by bouncing upon the platform for a choir rehearsal before the service, whipping off his coat, and jauntily taking the choir through its paces. Alexander had a winning way; and his selection of popular, singable tunes made it possible for him to develop emotional unity in the group. There was no emphasis on reverence in his part of the

service. He used jokes, shouts, wild, vigorous arm motions, and anything that popped into his head. After the crowd was molded, a musical selection just prior to the speaker was supposed to set the stage for the rest of the service.

Alexander worked with two evangelists who followed after Moody: J. W. Chapman and Reuben Torrey. Both of these men had considerable reserve, but the personality of "Charlie" Alexander more than offset this. Chapman and Alexander developed the city-wide evangelistic campaign that they called "simultaneous evangelism," which was first tried in Boston in 1909. A huge choir was recruited, along with hundreds of other workers. Chapman's personal staff included fifty-six people, including Alexander and himself. Thus was developed a pattern that has continued to be used.¹⁸

VI

Music of the Baptists

IT WAS NOT until the Commonwealth Period (1640-60) that Baptists in England found an opportunity to labor effectively. Previous to this time they labored amid persecution. The actual origin of Baptists as identified today is obscure. Probably they originated with certain English Separatists who were congregational in church government and came to advocate believer's baptism.

English Beginnings

The documented origin of English Baptists begins with one John Smyth, who was a member of a Congregational church in his home town of Gainsborough on Trent, which had been established in 1602. By 1606 this church had divided. One group, meeting at Scrooby Manor, was led by William Bradford and William Brewster, who later came as Pilgrim fathers to New England. The other group stayed in Gainsborough and was led by Smyth. Because of persecution by the Anglicans, both groups fled to Amsterdam, Holland—the Gainsborough branch in 1607 and the Scrooby Manor branch in 1608. The Scrooby Manor church finally moved to Leyden, and then to America in 1620.

Thomas Helwys, coleader of the Gainsborough group, left for England in 1611 or 1612 with a small group of followers, after having an argument with Smyth. This group met secretly in the town of Spitalfield outside London and became the first known Baptist church of England. It was Arminian or General Baptist in theology and practiced affusion instead of immersion as the mode of baptism. In 1638 the first Particular (or Calvinistic) Baptist church developed from an Independent (Congregationalist) congregation at Southwark, London.¹

Most early Baptist churches and their successors were opposed to music in the worship services. Their objections were centered mainly around the fear of becoming formal in worship. The development of this controversy may be traced as follows.²

- 1671—The Broadmead Church in Bristol had a complaint lodged against it for singing too loudly.
- 1673—Benjamin Keach introduced the singing of a hymn at the close of the Lord's Supper.
- 1678—Thomas Grantham published *Christianismus Primitivus*, stating his objections to congregational singing:
1. Singing should be under the influence of the Spirit upon each individual.
 2. Instruction is prevented when all sing and none can hear.
 3. Singing encourages formal prayers.
 4. Singing encourages instruments in the service and destroys its solemnity.
- 1680—Rev. Hercules Collins of Wapping wrote *An Orthodox Catechism* in which he defended singing as a public duty.
- 1682—Benjamin Keach defended singing in writing his *Tropes and Figures*, followed by his *Treatise on Baptism* in 1689.
- 1689—The General Baptist Assembly made a resolution that singing was a dangerous practice that churches should avoid. The churches which had been singing were using one of the psalters of William Barton, author of one of the earliest collections of hymns apart from versions of the psalms. He had published a metrical psalter in 1644.
- 1690—Isaac Marlow, an influential lay leader of the Mile End Church wrote a *Discourse Concerning Singing*. This was because the Horsley-down Church (Benjamin Keach, pastor) had voted to sing a hymn every Sunday at the close of the sermon. By this means, antisinging members could leave before the hymns.
- 1691—Neither party being satisfied, Keach defended his position by writing *The Breach Repaired in God's Worship*, in which he elevated singing to a gospel ordinance and said its neglect was one of the reasons for spiritual dearth among the churches. A proof-text was Exodus 32:18: "The noise of them that sing do I hear." Keach argued that one person singing could not have made all that noise, therefore the singing must have been congregational (nor was he deterred by the fact that this singing was to the Golden Calf, as his opponents very gleefully pointed

- out). Keach further stated that there are various types of voices: (1) a shouting voice; (2) a crying voice; (3) a preaching voice; (4) a praying voice; and (5) a singing voice. All are different from each other. Singing is not simply the heart or mind singing, but a tuning of the voice that cannot be done without the tongue.
- 1691—Keach published a hymnal entitled *Spiritual Melody* containing three hundred of his own hymns. This is the first English Baptist hymnal.
- 1693—Unhappy members withdrew from the Horsley-down Church and formed the Maze Pond Church. This group refused to have fellowship with any of the singing churches.
- 1735—Rev. Abraham West was called as pastor of the Maze Pond Church on the condition that a psalm or hymn be sung at the beginning of public worship and after the Lord's Supper.
- 1753—Since there were only two men and two women in the membership who opposed singing, the Maze Pond Church voted to make the singing of hymns a part of public worship.

Since the early Baptist leaders of England had contact with the two groups at Amsterdam and Leyden, it is difficult to understand their aversion to singing. Undoubtedly the influence of Leyden was felt, for the Particular Baptists were less opposed to singing than the General Baptists were. The Particular Baptist congregation at Southwark grew out of the Independent congregation of Henry Jacob, who came from Leyden in 1616, four years after the publication of Ainsworth's psalter.

After Benjamin Keach blazed the trail, others followed. In 1697 Joseph Stennett, pastor of a Sabbatarian Baptist church in London, published a collection of hymns dealing with the Lord's Supper. A second edition appeared in 1703, and other hymns were published in 1709 and 1712. Benjamin Wallin published *Evangelical Hymns and Songs in Two Parts* in 1750, and John Needham published a volume of some two hundred hymns in 1768.

The first "selection" of hymns for use in English Baptist churches was published at Bristol in 1769. The compilers were John Ash, pastor of Pershore Church in Warwickshire, and Caleb Evans, pastor of Broadmead Church at Bristol and president of a Baptist college in that city. This hymnal contained four hundred and twelve

hymns by the best English hymn writers up to that time: Stennett, Beddome, Wesley, Watts, Steele, and Addison. The title was: *A Collection of Hymns Adapted to Public Worship*.

Baptist Beginnings in the New World

Benedict³ and Cathcart⁴ give valuable information concerning Baptist beginnings in this country. Traces of Baptist sentiment appear in the Pilgrim group that landed in Massachusetts in 1620. As early as 1630 there were individuals refusing to have their children baptized, but an actual church was not formed in Massachusetts colony until 1663 at Swansea. What is considered the oldest Baptist church in the United States is the one at Providence, Rhode Island, founded by Roger Williams in 1639. Williams had been forced to leave Boston because of his views concerning baptism.

Psalm singing was started in this church but was laid aside. Theologically the church was Arminian (although Roger Williams was Calvinistic) and eventually became a Six Principle Church. (Six Principle Baptists found their basic doctrine in Hebrews 6: 1-2, and the points were (1) repentance from dead works, (2) faith toward Christ, (3) the teaching of baptism, (4) the resurrection of the dead, (5) eternal judgment, and (6) the laying on of hands. This last was usually the point of contention among early Baptists in England and the United States.) Probably the Ainsworth psalter was used, and the problems connected with singing from it may have influenced the laying aside of psalmody. In 1770 Dr. James Manning, president of Rhode Island College (later Brown University), became pastor. He reintroduced singing into worship and was immediately opposed by the former pastor, Rev. Samuel Windsor. Manning was also opposed because he did not feel the importance of laying on of hands, an important tenet of faith of the Six Principle Baptists. In the ensuing arguments mention was made of Keach's *The Breach Repaired*. Finally, Manning was upheld and Windsor founded a new church. By this time, the church could have used collections of hymns by Keach, Stennett, or Watts.

The Baptist church at Newport, Rhode Island, was founded sometime between 1638 and 1644, was strongly Calvinistic, and

was in correspondence with Particular Baptist churches in London. From the beginning singing in worship was approved and practiced. However, in 1656, twenty-one families left the fellowship of the Newport church and formed the Second Baptist Church of Newport. One of their reasons for leaving the First Church was its use of psalmody. In general, these people adhered more closely to Six Principle Baptists. Sometime before 1770 the church began singing, for this is the date William Rogers joined the church. We shall see Rogers' connection with the first Baptist hymnal shortly. Before 1726 singing had at First Church fallen into disuse, as it had in many churches, and Rev. John Comer, the fifth pastor, reintroduced it. Likely the hymnal used was Tate and Brady's *New Version*, for the church voted to use Watts's *Psalms* (published in 1741 in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin) sometime between 1784 and 1788.

There are a few other interesting sidelights concerning singing among early Baptists. In 1708 Rev. Timothy Brooks became minister of the Cohansey, New Jersey, church. He and some followers had migrated from the Swansea, Massachusetts, church before 1690 and had kept a separate fellowship. One reason for leaving Swansea was the use of psalmody. In 1759 a mission of the Swansea church was organized at Stanford, New York. In 1771 this group withdrew because the mother church sang by rule and used Watts's *Psalms*. Later, a small group renewed fellowship.

The Welsh Tract Church was formed in 1770 at Duck Creek, Delaware. It was influential in spreading the practice of singing to churches in the Middle States.

A Rev. Philip Hughes was actively preaching in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1772. While there he supervised the publishing of a volume of hymns, of which nothing else is known.

In all probability early colonial Baptist churches used the *Bay Psalm Book*, but the influences that retained its usage in Puritan churches were not at work among Baptists. The influence of English Baptist hymnody and the freedom of Baptist worship enabled these churches to break away from the Puritan tradition of psalmody.

The first American Baptist hymnal, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, was published in Newport in 1766. It was printed by Samuel Hall

and sold by William Rogers and Clark Brown. There are sixteen hymns on the subject of baptism, all setting forth the Baptist doctrine in no uncertain terms. Seventy-four hymns treat of the Lord's Supper, and the remaining forty-eight are spiritual songs. These spiritual songs have headings which tell either the topic or the scriptural basis for each song.

Examining texts, one finds that the majority of them were written by Isaac Watts, two of which are still sung today: "Alas, and Did My Saviour Bleed?" and "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross." Joseph Stennett is also well represented. There are some quotations from John Playford's *Whole Book of Psalms* (1673), and some hymns that are similar to popular English hymns, but with alterations. However, the vast majority of these hymns are by unknown authors.

No tunes for the singing of these hymns are indicated except *Old 100th*—eighteen hymns, *104th Psalm*—four hymns, and *25th Psalm*—four hymns. No tunes are mentioned for any of the baptismal hymns, nor is their meter indicated. The section of "spiritual songs" indicates common meter—nineteen hymns, short meter—three hymns, and long meter—eight hymns. By far, the most frequently used meter is common meter, whether indicated or not. Doubtless the standard psalm tunes were used for the metrical hymns. The hymns with neither tune nor metrical marking may have been sung to various folk tunes.

The actual compiler of *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* is unknown. He possessed knowledge of English hymns and tunes that would seem to indicate an exchange of correspondence, frequent visits, or some connection with England. Since Newport is a coastal town, it is likely that immigrant Baptists brought with them the hymns and tunes they had used in England. Nothing is known about Samuel Hall, the printer, or Clark Brown, one of the sellers. Dr. William Rogers (1751-1824), the other seller, became a very influential Baptist leader. He was a member of the first graduating class of Brown University and later served as a chaplain in the Revolutionary War. The date of the hymnal nearly coincides with the date of his graduation from Brown. Undoubtedly his education and

popularity influenced the assimilation of early Baptist hymnody.

The copy of *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* in the Brown University Library has the signature of Robert Rogers, with the note that it was presented to him by his father. Part of the writing is obscured, but it seems to indicate that the hymnal was used by the First Baptist Church of Newport. If true, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* may have replaced Tate and Brady until it was later replaced by Watts's *Psalms*.

Music for the first American Baptist hymnal needs to be considered against the background of the metrical psalm. Joseph Stennett was one of the early Baptist hymn writers in England. Although his hymns are not metrical psalms, they are dependent upon metrical tunes. Isaac Watts was influenced by Stennett, even to the extent of paraphrasing some of Stennett's hymns. Watts published his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* in 1709 (most of them written between 1695-96). The majority of Watts's hymns in the 1766 Baptist hymnal are from this edition. Watts, too, was dependent upon metrical psalm tunes.

The tunes used for singing psalms have an interesting history. The first use of names for tunes is found in the book of Psalms (cf. chap. 1). In the Middle Ages, the texts of tropes, sequences, and *Leisen* were designated by melody titles. The tunes of the Strassburg (1539) and succeeding psalters (that became the basis of our hymn tunes) were known by the numbers of the psalms. When new tunes were later written, the first tunes were characterized by the prefix "old" (e.g. "Old 100th", etc.).

The first one to establish the custom of designating individual names for psalm tunes was Thomas Est (Este, East) in his psalter of 1592, in which three are named: "Glassenburie" (to Psalm 88), "Kentish" (to Psalm 92), and "Cheshire" (to Psalm 146). Thomas Ravenscroft gave names to all the tunes in his *Whole Book of Psalmes* (1621). John Playford used a number of tunes from Ravenscroft, but gave them different names (resulting in confusion) in his *Psalms and Hymns* (1761). It is in this book that hymns and psalms are grouped together on the title page as well as in the book itself. By using standard meters many hymns could be sung to a few

tunes (cf. the metrical index of a standard hymnal for names of tunes having the same meter). As a result the number of tunes actually sung gradually declined.⁵

The first American Baptist hymnal, then, had two sources for texts: (1) from English hymn writers, and (2) American folk writers; and two sources for tunes: (1) the standard psalm tunes, and (2) Americanized English folk tunes. Probably those hymns not designated by a tune name or a meter were sung to folk tunes. There were tune books available with composed tunes used in the singing school, but it is impossible to know their influence upon these particular hymns.

Several social factors resulted in publication of the first Baptist hymnal in America. First, Baptists had become sociably acceptable and had multiplied faster than any other group. Second, the American colonies had been influenced by the revivals of Wesley and Whitefield. This had disturbed the Calvinists and their predestination doctrine. Third, Baptists were so active that immersion had become an accepted mode. Fourth, the practice of psalm singing was dying out. John Wesley had realized the impotency of the psalter tunes and used Moravian and German hymn tunes, and even those of composers like Handel in his collection of tunes (1742, called the *Foundery Collection*). Fifth, a need was realized for a distinctive Baptist hymnody.

Up to this time Baptists had been a subjected group courageously proclaiming their peculiar beliefs. There had been no time for the development of worship or worship music. In fact, music had not played an important part in Baptist worship. Now that the need for hymns in worship was recognized, the fulfilment of this need had to express Baptist faith. Many hymns could be adapted from other writers, but it took Baptists to write Baptist hymns on such subjects as baptism and the Lord's Supper. This was especially true, of course, regarding baptism.

These things being true, Baptist hymnody of any age will depend upon the quality of Baptist authors and composers available. The quality of the authors in the hymnal of 1766 is revealed clearly. The texts are primitive:⁶

Baptize 'em in the awful name.
 Teach 'em [quoted, as if they were actual words of Jesus].
 And sink 'em [sins] so as ne'er to rise.
 Amazing is thy mercies, Lord.

Many of the hymns were in the form of personal testimony:

O sinners, attend whilst I relate
 The Love of my friend who cancel'd my debt.

Samuel Stennett's

Come ye that fear the Lord
 And listen while I tell
 How narrowly my feet escaped
 The snares of death and Hell.

probably proved very popular. Characteristically American is,

Come all ye saints and sinners near
 Come listen a while and you shall hear.

Before 1800 three other hymnals were published: *A Choice Collection of Hymns* (1784) by Elhanan Winchester, *A New Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (third edition, 1793) by John Peak, and *Divine Hymns or Spiritual Songs* (1784) by Joshua Smith.

Prior to the Revolutionary War, Baptists were subject to much mistreatment. Although they had gained a legal standing in some colonies by the time of the War, local communities still put them under severe disabilities. Mobs broke up Baptist meetings and imprisoned Baptist preachers. Religious persecution was so great that one group appeared before the first Continental Congress to make an appeal for religious liberty.

After the war, Baptists occupied a different position. They were no longer considered radicals, even in Virginia and Massachusetts, where they had been most severely treated. Before the Revolution a stigma was attached to the word "Baptist"; afterwards it was an accepted title.

Although Baptists now included members of social position and

wealth, their strongest appeal was to the common people. They continued a very forceful program of evangelism. The forming of associations began to take place, solidifying the Baptist witness. Associations had existed previously, but were small in number and, for the most part, ineffective. Another unifying factor among Baptists was Rhode Island College, the only Baptist college of Colonial and early national years. In some areas, Baptists were more numerous than any other denomination.

A majority of Baptists lived in the South, with two-thirds of them being found there. However, Baptists were divided into many different groups, the most progressive being the ones who were preaching the availability of "free grace," in contrast to the rigid predestination doctrines preached by others. Some divisions of opinion that might seem foolish now created real problems at the time, such as ministerial education, ordination procedures, appropriate dress for the pulpit, and what constituted a "call" to the ministry.

Political freedom begat religious freedom. With the national population largely rural, the strongest religious roots were sunk in the rural areas. Here the life of righteousness was characterized by right thinking and right believing, both based upon a very literal interpretation of the Bible. No longer were Baptists a lowly group. They were now free to propagate the gospel and to originate new worship forms and customs.

Early Baptist Hymnody of the North

From the beginning of the nineteenth century Baptist hymnody in the United States developed in two distinct streams—the Northern and the Southern. At this early date slavery had not become an issue within the denomination, and there is no reason to suppose that leaders of the time anticipated the future division of Baptists. The situation in hymnody thus provides us today with one of the first historical clues that contrasts within denominational life were developing along regional lines. The fact that the emerging contrasts showed early in this particular area also implies something of real significance for historical interpretation. Baptists apparently were

evolving two independent and somewhat antithetical patterns of religious culture.

The future organizational split of the Baptist denomination, it thus appears, expressed not simply the political and economic sectional antagonisms that caused the Civil War but something deeper—the incompatibility of conflicting forms of religious life. In other words, the religious division between Baptists paralleled the politico-economic division within national life; but hymnody provides some evidence that the former was not directly caused by the latter. Rather, it appears that from early times there has actually been a practical and devotional division in the Baptist denomination. There is no need to insist that geographical and resultant cultural factors have had no bearing on this division. Quite likely they favored its development. All that is suggested here is that the religious distinctions were real. Denominational division was not merely an expression of nonreligious sectional differences.

One of the earliest Baptist hymn writers of the North was Benjamin Cleveland (1733-1811), compiler of *Hymns on Different Spiritual Subjects*. This hymnal was in two parts—the first being a collection of twenty-four hymns by Cleveland, and the second containing thirty-two hymns by Anna Beeman of Warren, Connecticut, twenty-four hymns by Amos Wells, and hymns by other authors. Another early Baptist hymn writer was Thomas Baldwin (1753-1826), an evangelist ministering in New England.

In 1843 S. F. Smith, author of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," and Barton Stow published *The Psalmist*. The compilers of this hymnal sought to make the collection "tend to the elevation of evangelical taste, the interest of worship, and the diffusion of a more fervent piety." The collection was recommended by a group of ministers residing in different sections of the country in hopes of uniting American Baptists in the use of the same hymnal. (This may have been the first Baptist hymnal to be published in the United States by a denominational publishing house, the American Baptist Publication Society.) *The Psalmist* was received with great favor in the North, but Baptists of the South did not accept it because many hymns of the folk-song type were eliminated.

To remedy this situation, Richard Fuller (1804-76), pastor of the church at Beaufort, South Carolina, and J. B. Jeter (1802-80), pastor of the First Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia, compiled a supplement of hymns sung by Baptists of the South. This supplement of one hundred and six hymns was published as an addition to the rest of the hymnal in 1847. Unfortunately the influence of these two outstanding Southern Baptist pastors failed to increase circulation of *The Psalmist* in the South.⁷

The Psalmist received influence from three major sources. The first was in England. In 1787 Dr. John Rippon (1751-1836) published his *Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors; including a great Number of Originals. Intended to be an Appendix to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns*. Dr. Rippon was an outstanding English Baptist and publisher of *The Baptist Annual Register* from 1790 to 1802. He was a great admirer of Dr. Watts and, because many errors had crept into the later published editions of Watts's works, he published an improved edition of Watts's *Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs* (1798). In 1810 Rippon published *An Index of All the Lines in Watts's Hymns and Psalms*.

Watts's hymns were popular enough to cause any publisher anxiety in publishing hymns by other authors. In the preface to his *Selection*, Rippon deemed it necessary to say:

This Selection was never intended, either directly or indirectly, to set aside Dr. Watts, in any Congregation upon Earth; on the contrary, it is hoped that he will be more used than ever. And that he may be so, his Hymns and Psalms keeping their former Place, a Number of Hymns has been introduced from his Lyric Poems, Sermons, and Miscellanies, into this Volume, not only greater than has yet appeared in any Collection of Hymns for Public Worship; but I believe, exceeding what has been printed in all of them put together. These, I flatter myself, will be highly acceptable to the *real* friends of Dr. Watts.

Accordingly Dr. Rippon made no selection from Watts's *Psalms and Hymns*, but turned his attention elsewhere, consulting "more than ninety printed volumes of Hymn-books, Hymns, Psalms," examining all that he could find in England and the United States.

Nearly one-fourth of the hymns in the *Selection* were published for the first time, being written by such writers as Samuel Stennett, Daniel Turner, Benjamin Beddome, and Benjamin Francis, all outstanding Baptists. But other denominations were afforded a place too. In the preface, Rippon stated: "It has not been my Enquiry *whose* Hymns shall I choose, but *what* Hymns; and hence it will be seen, that Churchmen and Dissenters, Watts and Tate, Wesley and Toplady, England and America, sing Side by Side, and very often join in the same Triumph, using the same Words." As first published the *Selection* contained 588 hymns, and the tenth edition of 1800 contained 648. The first American edition was printed at Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, in 1792.

The second major source for *The Psalmist* came from the work of James Winchell, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Boston, Massachusetts. In 1819 Winchell had published: "An Arrangement of the *Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs* of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D. D., to which are added indexes, very much enlarged and improved. To facilitate the use of the whole in finding Psalms or Hymns suited to particular subjects or occasion." Winchell's collection included some hymns by Watts that were not then in print and also some hymns by other authors. Winchell derived much assistance from the rearrangement of the *Psalms and Hymns* made by John Rippon, and his work was used for a great many years in New England. In 1832 Winchell's Watts was enlarged by the addition of two hundred hymns, totaling approximately one thousand.

An American edition of *Psalms and Hymns of Dr. Watts, arranged by Dr. Rippon; with Dr. Rippon's Selection* was published in Philadelphia in 1820. There were some who preferred the *Selection* without the other Watts works but with additional hymns. Accordingly, in 1827 William Staughton edited an edition of Rippon's *Selection* with an appendix from the *Olney Hymns* and hymns from other sources. This work had larger and clearer type and was better printed than the first edition. This is the first appearance in a Baptist hymnal of these hymns of Cowper and Newton. A later edition "corrected and improved" by Rev. C. G. Sommers and Rev. John Dagg was published in 1842.

An analysis of the contents of *The Psalmist* reveals the number of hymns by authors appearing in the *Selection* and "Winchell's Watts": Beddome, 44; Steele, 52; Newton, 16; Montgomery, 37; Doddridge, 61; Wesley, 36; and Cowper, 9. This is not an exhaustive list but gives an indication of the quality of the hymn texts. Seven hymns, whose authors are anonymous, are listed as having been taken from "Winchell's Watts," and seven other anonymous hymns were taken from the *Selection*.

A third influence on the compilation of *The Psalmist* was Lowell Mason. Dr. Samuel Smith, one of the compilers, and Mason were close friends. Mason had been responsible for giving Smith the German hymnal in which Smith found the tune to which he set the words of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." Mason published the hymn and was responsible for its first public performance at a Fourth of July celebration at Boston's Park Street Congregational Church. *The Psalmist* lists Mason's *Church Psalmody* as being the source of 7 hymns, and there are 39 other hymns that could be sung to tunes composed or collected by Mason and 8 hymns that could be sung to tunes composed by Thomas Hastings. (In the *Baptist Hymnal* [1946] Mason had 18 tunes.)

Early Baptist Hymnody of the South

John Courtney was pastor of the First Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia, from 1786 to 1824. In 1805 he compiled *The Christian Pocket Companion*, which was revised with the title *A Selection of Hymns from Various Authors* (1831). Courtney did not approve of congregational usage of hymnals, preferring to "line out" each hymn, and did not want his hymnals circulated for congregational use.

The Richmond church had a choir during this period, which was directed by Herbert Thomson, later ordained as a minister. However, it was dismissed and was not organized again until 1840. A choir has enjoyed continuous existence there since that time.

One early Baptist hymn writer of the South was John Leland (1754-1841), known in church history for his advocacy of religious liberty in Virginia.

Another important early Southern hymn writer was Richard Furman (1755-1825), outstanding preacher and president of the Triennial Convention, for whom Furman University was named. In 1787 he accepted the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Greenville, South Carolina, where he enjoyed a long and successful pastorate. Dr. Furman was the author of *Pleasure of Piety and Other Poems*, which included some of his hymns. The following hymn, included in Broaddus' *Virginia Selection* (1842) and Manley's *Baptist Psalmody* (1850), illustrates his ability:

Sovereign of all the worlds above,
Thy glory with unclouded rays,
Shines through the realms of light and love,
Inspiring angels with thy praise.

Here may the great Redeemer reign,
Display his grace and saving power!
Here liberty and truth maintain,
Till empires fall to rise no more.

Baptist Hymns and Spiritual Songs was published by Rev. Starke Dupuy in 1812. This hymnal was very popular, going through thirty editions up to 1842. The popularity of *Baptist Hymns* was due to the inclusion of many folk religious songs, there being twenty-seven religious ballads of the "experience" type. It was also strongly baptistic (p. 50):

Not *at* the River Jordan,
But *in* the flowing stream
Stood John, the Baptist preacher,
When he baptized Him.

John was a Baptist preacher
When he baptiz'd the Lamb;
Then Jesus was a Baptist
And thus the Baptists came.

Dr. Jackson⁸ relates that a tragedy in a Richmond theater fire on

December 26, 1811, was sung about in the Baptist Meeting House on Wednesday, January 1, 1812, less than a week later. This was subsequently recorded in Dupuy's hymnal, along with a large mass of other folk hymns. It has been recorded that young Abe Lincoln sang from Dupuy's book.

Around 1812, Rev. S. M. Noel published his *Selection of Hymns, Psalms, and Spiritual Songs*. A second edition was published in 1821. The "selecting" was from the works of Watts, Cowper, Newton, and other recognized hymnists. No attempt was made in this collection to alter or to interpolate the texts of these authors, which was a commonly accepted practice. Frequently, any word or phrase which proved objectionable to doctrine was deleted or altered. Thus, the same hymns might vary in wording in hymnals of different denominations.

Rev. Hosea Holcombe (1780-1841) published a collection of hymns in 1815, but nothing is known of the contents of this book.

Jesse Mercer (1769-1841) was a brilliant speaker and influential pastor in Georgia, having served as president of the Georgia Baptist Convention for eighteen consecutive years, and was editor of the *Christian Index*. The third edition of a hymnal compiled by Mercer, *The Cluster of Spiritual Songs, Divine Hymns, and Sacred Poems*, was published in pamphlet form at Augusta, Georgia, in 1817. The exact date of the first edition is unknown. Mercer was also the author of some nineteen treatises on various religious subjects. In this hymnal there are thirty-four songs of the "experience" type, with their invitation of "come" and "come all ye," all being religious ballads.

There is very little known concerning the Rev. William Dossey (1780-1853), the compiler of *The Choice: in Two Parts. Part I, containing Psalms and Hymns. Part II, containing Spiritual Songs*. The third edition containing seven hundred and forty-six hymns appeared in 1830, and the fourth edition in 1833. Dossey served the Welsh Neck Baptist Church, Society Hill, South Carolina, from 1813 until 1834. He had the reputation of being the strongest and most effective preacher of his time in eastern South Carolina.

Musically, he enjoyed singing and possessed a remarkably powerful and melodious voice.

More than one hundred hymns in *The Choice* were written by Dossey. The following lines are two stanzas of a hymn written by him (no. 260):

O sinners, to the Savior go!
Pour forth your ardent cries;
Let streams of sacred sorrow flow
From all your weeping eyes.

Your sins have made the Savior bleed,
Have pierced his wounded side;
Have crowned with thorns his sacred head;
For you he bled and died.

Hymns, Psalms, and Spiritual Songs, including some never before in print (1825) was published by Rev. Absalom Graves (1768-1836). This was a collection of 270 hymns and 111 spiritual songs. An associate of Graves believed that those hymns "never before in print" were written by Graves, but there is no evidence to support this.

The associate pastor to John Courtney at the Richmond church was Rev. Andrew Broaddus (1770-1848), who came to this position in 1821 after having held successful pastorates in Boston and Philadelphia. In 1828 Broaddus published *The Dover Selection of Spiritual Songs* at the request of the Dover Association. In the preface Broaddus stated: "It is chiefly a selection of those compositions generally termed 'Spiritual Songs,' is principally intended for popular use and not as a standard book for the desk or the leader of the hymn in public worship." A second edition was published in 1829 containing two hundred and four hymns, and a supplement with sixty-seven hymns. Broaddus' attitude toward the congregational use of hymns reflected the thinking of Courtney.

Broaddus followed these successful publishing ventures with *The Virginia Selections of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs* (1836). A third edition, revised and enlarged with the addition of 180 hymns, was published in 1842. In the preface of the third edition,

Broaddus stated that the first edition was defective "in regard to the number and variety of hymns . . . a few of them . . . termed 'Spiritual Songs,' may not be capable of standing the test of refined criticism." To justify the inclusion of such songs in the hymnal, he added "that as the book is designed for popular as well as for pulpit use, some allowance must be made for popular liking."

After Courtney resigned from the Richmond church, it adopted Rippon's "Selection," followed by Winchell's *Watts*, and after Broaddus had compiled the *Virginia Selection*, the church adopted it.

A small Baptist hymnal appeared in 1834 under the title: *The Baptist Harmony: Being a Selection of Choice Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Social Worship*, and was compiled by Staunton S. Burdett. It is apparent that Burdett's object was to present to the churches a suitable, useful, convenient, and cheap hymnbook. This book is important, since William Walker relied heavily upon its contents in his compilation of *The Southern Harmony*, with thirty-two selections from the *Baptist Harmony* included.

Twenty-nine hymns found in the *Baptist Harmony* are still to be found in the *Baptist Hymnal* (1956). By far, the most frequent author was Isaac Watts, with seventy-seven hymns. Following Watts was Doddridge with twenty-seven and Newton with nineteen. Conspicuously absent are the hymns of Wesley.⁹

A chaplain who served in the Confederate Army published *The Baptist Hymn Book* (1842). The publisher was Rev. William Buck (1790-1872), who enjoyed a very active life in denominational service. He was a pioneer missionary in Kentucky from 1820 to 1836. In the latter year he became pastor of the First Baptist Church in Louisville, and was editor of *The Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*. In 1851 Buck was elected secretary of the Bible Board of the Southern Baptist Convention and held this office until 1854.

The Baptist Hymn Book contained two parts; the first contained 878 hymns, and the second contained some two hundred songs. Ten thousand copies of the book were sold, chiefly in the states of the Mississippi Valley. A new "carefully revised and stereotyped edition" appeared in 1844 "with a few choice hymns added to the

second part," increasing the number to two hundred and eleven. In the preface, Buck testified that the hymnal "was commenced upon my knees, and in every stage of my labors, assistance has been sought from on high." One of five hymns by the compiler is:

Behold, O Lord, at thy command,
Thy saints assembled from afar,
To send thy word to every land;
O! condescend to hear our prayer!

Gird on thy sword, victorious Prince,
Thy blood-stained banner wide display;
Haste on thy conquests, King of Peace,
And bring thy glorious latter day.

Organizational Split of the Baptists

Prior to 1845 Baptists in the North and South were united as members of the so-called Triennial Convention, which was formed in Philadelphia in 1814. Dr. Richard Furman, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Charleston, South Carolina, was the convention's first president. As the story of Baptist hymnody to this point has indicated, real differences existed between Baptists in the North and those in the South in their choice of hymnals, suggesting that both religious and cultural differences had long tended to separate Baptists of the two regions. When antislavery sentiment mounted in the North, actual conflict arose within the Triennial Convention over the administration of the mission program in relation to slavery.

Pressures within the Triennial Convention finally became too great, and the Virginia Foreign Mission Society called for a convention to be held among Southern members in May of 1845. Three hundred and twenty-eight messengers from Southern churches met in Augusta, Georgia, to organize the Southern Baptist Convention. The purpose of the general organizational structure of the Convention was to provide a strong, centralized direction of denominational affairs through boards, without infringing upon the rights of individual local churches.¹⁰ By contrast, the Triennial Convention was

solely concerned with foreign mission work, thus providing much less denominational centralization in the Northern states.

The story of hymnody in the South thus far has largely been a matter of individual activities. Organization of the Southern Convention in 1845 made little immediate difference in this area. In fact, the pre-1845 situation would largely continue through the balance of the nineteenth century.

Rev. J. M. D. Cates (1815-87) was active in literary circles for many years, writing for religious papers, and serving as editor of the *Baptist Messenger* from 1874 to 1881. He wrote and published several books, and compiled three hymnals: *The Companion* (1846), a small book, but revised and enlarged in 1848 and containing 239 hymns; *The Baptist Companion* (ca. 1850), which contained 410 "hymns and spiritual songs"; *The Sacred Harp* (1867), containing 618 hymns, was quite popular in Tennessee. In this latter volume, Cates included twelve of his own hymns.

A prominent name among Southern Baptists is Basil Manly, Jr., first professor of biblical interpretation at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Manly (1825-92) served the First Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia, as pastor for four years, and was president of Georgetown College (Kentucky) from 1871 to 1879, after which he returned to his position at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. In 1850 he compiled the *Baptist Psalmody* with the aid of his father, to which Manly contributed nine hymns. The preface contains a statement regarding the origin of *Baptist Psalmody*: "At the request of various brethren, more or less formally presented, and of the Board of the Southern Baptist Publication Society [a private Baptist organization], we have prepared this Hymn-Book for the use of the Churches." The Southern Baptist Convention recommended to affiliated churches (with the following motion) the hymnal

which by its evangelical character and general excellence is eminently adapted to the purpose for which it was prepared; and whereas the extensive circulation of the book will contribute materially to the treasury of the Society:

"Resolved, That the Baptist Psalmody [sic] be recommended to the churches to be used in offering their songs of praise to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost."¹¹

It is possible that Manly wrote many more hymns, but they are not listed. One hymn, "Soldiers of Christ in Truth Arrayed," is sung each year during the commencement services at the Southern Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. The *Psalmody* contained 1,295 hymns and was received as well in the South as the *Psalmist* had been in the North.

Manly also published *Baptist Chorals* (1859) and *Manly's Choice* (1891), the latter primarily a book for use in Sunday school. *Baptist Chorals* contained 424 hymns selected and adapted by Basil Manly, Jr., and 164 tunes selected and adapted by Dr. A. Brooks Everett. Since *The Psalmist* and *Baptist Psalmody* were then the two most extensively used hymnals in Baptist churches of the United States, *Baptist Chorals* was nearly exclusively a collection of the best hymns from both hymnals.

Another hymn writer who was a leader in early Southern Baptist affairs was Abram Poindexter (1809-72). From 1848 to 1851 he was corresponding secretary of the Southern Baptist Publication Society. From 1851 to 1854 he was an agent for Richmond College (now University of Richmond). Dr. Poindexter was elected assistant secretary of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board in 1854, but declined the position upon re-election in 1866 in order to return to Richmond College.

Dr. Poindexter contributed hymns to *Baptist Psalmody*, even aiding Manly in the final revision. The closing stanza of one of these hymns, "O Our Redeemer, God," breathes the life conviction of its author:

O Lord, our God, descend!
Our fainting heart revive:
On Thee alone our hopes depend,
For Thou canst make us live.

James Tupper (1819-68) was a lawyer who served in the legislature of South Carolina and served as state auditor. His life and

energies were devoted to the work of the First Baptist Church in Charleston, South Carolina. In *Baptist Psalmody* he contributed one hymn.

In Louisville, Kentucky, Rev. Sidney Dyer published *The Southwestern Psalmist* (1851) containing 467 hymns and nine doxologies. A revised edition appeared in 1853 under the title *Dyer's Psalmist, a Collection of Hymns and Sacred Songs for the Use of Baptist Churches*.

Dr. Edwin T. Winkler (1823-83) was a man of broad and generous culture. He served in the Confederate Army as a chaplain, was regarded as an accomplished speaker, and was an author. Besides publishing two essays, Dr. Winkler served as assistant editor of the *Christian Index* (Georgia), and editor of the *Southern Baptist* and the *Alabama Baptist*. In 1852 he became corresponding secretary of the Southern Baptist Publication Society, replacing Abram Poindexter. *The Sacred Lute, a Collection of Popular Hymns* (1855) was published by Winkler at the request of the Publication Society. This hymnal was intended to be a compilation of the best spiritual songs which Southern Baptists sang. The collection contained 416 hymns, seven being written by the compiler. A new and enlarged edition was published in 1860 containing 470 hymns, eight being written by the compiler.

The originator of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union was Rev. J. R. Graves (1820-93), who started the Southwestern Publishing Company in Nashville in 1848. This company subsequently became the Sunday School Union. Graves, editor of the *Tennessee Baptist*, was active as an author and a publisher. *The Southern Psalmist*, edited by Graves and J. M. Pendleton, appeared in 1858. These hymns were particularly evangelistic and numbered 1,020.

Later, in 1873, Graves published *The New Baptist Psalmist for Churches and Sunday Schools*. In the Preface, Graves gives his convictions regarding hymns: that there are no hymns in the collection that "teach the doctrine of baptismal remission . . . no praises . . . to dead relatives or friends, nor are children taught to pray to the angels, or to desire to be angels."

Sunday School Hymnals

Baptists were active in the Sunday school movement from the first. Jonathan Howe published the first Baptist hymnal for Sunday school use in 1829, entitled *Choice Hymns for Social and Private Devotion and Lord's Day Schools* (Charlestown, Massachusetts). Lowell Mason published *The Juvenile Psalmist, or The Child's Introduction to Sacred Music* in 1829, probably the first book published exclusively for Sunday schools. The First Baptist Church of Boston had established a Sunday school in 1827. An apprentice printer, Henry Howland, became interested in the school and decided that the singing of songs, the use of pictures, and Scripture verses would improve instruction. As a result of his interest, he originated many of the methods used today in Sunday school. In 1854 John M. Evans took charge of the music for the Tenth Baptist Church in Philadelphia, the first church in that city to make music a prominent feature of Sunday school work. In 1864 Evans took complete charge of all the music at the Tabernacle Baptist Church in Philadelphia. Around 1880 the Gethsemane Baptist Church of Philadelphia organized a choir of several hundred voices out of the Sunday school which was used in the various worship services of the church. Other Baptist compilers of Sunday school songbooks were William B. Bradbury, Robert Lowry,¹² and W. H. Doane.

Dr. Robert Lowry (1826-99) was a Baptist minister but is known primarily as a composer and author of hymns. On the death of William B. Bradbury, the prosperous music publishing business he had built was continued by Bigelow and Main. The new firm approached Dr. Lowry with the proposal that he compile a book for use in the Sunday school. After much persuasion, he consented. This hymn book was *Gospel Melodies* (1868), followed by others: *Bright Jewels* (1869), *Pure Gold* (1871), *Royal Diadem* (1873), *Tidal Wave* (1874), *Brightest and Best* (1875), *Welcome Tidings* and *Fountain of Song* (1877), and *Gospel Hymn and Tune Book* (1879).

Dr. William H. Doane (1832-1915) published his first Sunday school hymnal, *Sabbath Gems*, in 1861. Dr. Doane wrote many songs which were used in Sunday schools and YMCA meetings. His

other compilations for Sunday schools include: *Little Sunbeams* (1864), *Silver Spray* (1867), and *Songs of Devotion* (1868). He was connected with Dr. Lowry in the publication of *Pure Gold*, *Royal Diadem*, *Tidal Wave*, *Brightest and Best*, *Welcome Tidings*, *Fountain of Song*, *Gospel Hymns and Tune Book*, and others.

Annie Hawks (1835-1918) wrote many songs that were used in the Sunday school. "I Need Thee Every Hour" was first sung at the National Baptist Sunday School Convention in 1872.

Development of Sunday school songs, closely related to the emerging gospel song tradition, came largely through the work of Baptists of the North. Interestingly enough, however, the hymnody thus developed has been warmly received in the South, where it probably enjoys its most abiding use today.

Southern Baptist Sunday School Board

As new needs have arisen in the life of local churches, provisions to meet them have been made within the work of the Southern Baptist Convention. The rapid growth of Sunday schools brought with it a desire on the part of some for the Convention to publish its own lesson materials. This the Convention declined to do. As a result, the Southern Baptist Publication Society was organized in 1847 without official Convention affiliation. Later the rival Southern Baptist Sunday School Union was organized in 1858. It was this dual functioning within the same area of work that led the Convention to realize the necessity of direct supervision of publication. This supervision was the responsibility of the Sunday School Board, which was organized in 1863 and located at Greenville, South Carolina. The Southern Baptist Publication Society merged with the Board, and the organization was then called the Sunday School and Publication Board. The Sunday School Union merged with the Sunday School Board in 1868, and operations were moved to Memphis, Tennessee.

The years following the Civil War were very difficult for the Sunday School Board financially. This, plus internal friction, caused the Board to merge with the Convention's Domestic Mission Board in 1873. During these years many states set up their own Sunday

school boards and secured materials from the American Baptist Publication Society of Philadelphia. By 1891 the Southern Baptist Convention was in a position to organize a new Sunday School Board, which has been located in Nashville, Tennessee, from the time of its establishment.

The original Sunday School Board (1863-73) considered hymnals to be a necessary part of the work conducted in Sunday schools, so it published *The Little Sunday School Hymn Book* (1863). The first edition of fourteen thousand copies was printed in 1863, and a second edition of ten thousand copies was printed in 1864. The Sunday School Board also made arrangements with the South Carolina Baptist Convention's Colportage Board to publish C. J. Elford's *Confederate Sunday School Hymn Book*. The first edition of this hymnal, consisting of three thousand copies, was issued in 1863. The second edition of ten thousand copies was printed in 1864, and contained 150 hymns and songs.

In the interval between the original and the present Sunday school boards, Northern and Southern Baptists united in an effort to produce a hymnal that would serve all the Baptists in the country. This new hymn and tune book had W. H. Doane and E. H. Johnson as musical editors and representatives from both Conventions on the selection committee. *The Baptist Hymnal, for Use in the Church and Home* (1883) had a large circulation throughout the United States, mainly because it was made more popular by the inclusion of a great number of gospel hymns. The newer nineteenth-century Anglican hymnody was represented, and use was made of unfamiliar tunes for old texts, but the aim was to have a familiar melody for every hymn and to include an alternate newer tune.

When the present Sunday School Board was organized in 1891 it was forbidden to publish books, including hymnals. However, the ban was lifted in 1899, and the Board made a report to the Convention that there was a growing demand for a new hymnbook. Even though the demands were frequent and urgent, the Board did not reveal any plans to compile a hymnal very soon. No mention is made in the Southern Baptist *Annual* about hymnals until the Sunday School Board's report in 1904, when it announced the immi-

ment publication of the *Hymn and Praise Book*. This hymnal was an attempt to meet the needs and desires of Southern Baptists and enjoyed great success, with ninety thousand copies reported in circulation by 1911.

Greater needs arose for the Sunday School Board to produce more hymnals; but the next activity was during World War I, when a booklet for servicemen entitled *On the March with the Master* was published. Among the things included in this booklet was a carefully selected group of hymns. In the summer of 1918 the Board made arrangements to buy fifty thousand copies of a pocket edition of *Select Gospel Songs*, published in 1916 by Robert Coleman, Dallas, Texas, with I. E. Reynolds serving as music editor. This was the largest single songbook purchase on record at that time.

By far the greatest number of hymnals used by Southern Baptist churches during the period from 1900 to 1945 was published by Robert Coleman, who had served as an assistant to Dr. George W. Truett, pastor of Dallas' First Baptist Church. Music editor for the Coleman firm from 1918 to 1935 was B. B. McKinney, later secretary of the Sunday School Board's Department of Church Music. Coleman published ten different hymnals between the years of 1918 and 1938 that had great circulation among the Southern Baptists. Among them were *The Modern Hymnal* (1926) and the *American Hymnal* (1933); the former is still sold and used.¹³ Coleman's hymnals in both content and appearance drew heavily on the gospel song tradition and included numerous new gospel songs by McKinney and others.

The Sunday School Board was not entirely inactive during these years in publishing hymnals and articles about church music. Between the years 1923 and 1956, eight major hymnals were published. In 1926 the *New Baptist Hymnal*, a revision of the 1883 edition, was published jointly by the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions. It did not meet with much acceptance from churches in the South, although the Sunday School Board recognized its worth and tried to promote its sales. The *New Baptist Hymnal* was simply too "new" in the sense that Southern Baptists were not, on the whole, ready for this type of hymnal. It contained a choice

selection of gospel songs by Bradbury, Bliss, Doane, and others but omitted some favorites of the South. *Songs of Faith*, published by the Board in 1933, was a smaller book that enjoyed good sales.

Apart from hymnal publication, many Sunday School Board periodicals contained articles pertinent to music. One of the foremost writers and early advocates of improving church music was I. E. Reynolds (1879-1949). The majority of articles that had been written on Sunday school work were rather indifferent to the use of music, or gave no positive approaches for utilizing music to a greater extent. Reynolds founded the School of Gospel Music at Southwestern Seminary in 1915 in an attempt to provide musical leadership for the Convention, and in 1920 took pen in hand to try to influence the reading public. His first article appeared in the *Sunday School Builder* and advocated training classes, assemblies, and the Convention-wide promotion of church music. He wrote continuously until 1931, but he also tried to implement his writing with practical applications by holding schools in local churches and in associations, attempting to prove his methods. He advocated graded choirs, church music schools, and a better selection of church music. His own early interests had been in the gospel song field, but he came to advocate greater use of hymns and anthems. Even though Reynolds' ideas were widely circulated, the Sunday School Board made no attempt to actively promote them at that time. However, when an organized program was started, his ideas were used as the basis.

Baptist Bible Institute (now New Orleans Seminary) started its music department in 1919. E. O. Sellers (1869-1952) was head of this work, and was also actively engaged in writing articles in Training Union periodicals. Sellers' ideas and those of Reynolds complemented each other. He wrote extensively concerning the necessity of pastoral training and leadership in developing a music ministry, and of the necessity of a responsible authority within the local church to organize and promote church music.

The first book to be published by the Sunday School Board concerning music was *A Manual of Practical Church Music* (1923) by Reynolds. The next book was *The Ministry of Music in Religion*

(1929), a rearrangement of the previous title with new material added. By 1935 a need was realized for the development of study course texts for the Training Union which were to present every phase of Christian activity in organized study form. Among the books proposed for the series was one on "Music in the Worship Service," which was to cover the areas of church music leadership. Actually, the book was not printed, and instead *Church Music* (1935) was written by Reynolds. The only other book to be published before the Department of Church Music was organized was *Elements of Musical Notation and Conducting* (1938) by Sellers.

There was little or no interest in church music among individual state conventions, except for congregational singing and special music at annual meetings. Any leadership for a unified music program would have to originate with denominational leaders in Nashville.

In 1925 the Southern Baptist Convention accepted a resolution of Reynolds that deplored the low state of musical affairs in Baptist churches, and called for a committee of five to be appointed by the Convention to investigate the matter and report it to the next Convention meeting. Reynolds was appointed chairman of the group and was able to present his ideas and see them adopted at the next Convention meeting. The committee reported that aside from instruction in the seminaries, nothing was being done to further church music within the Convention.

One recommendation of the committee was to encourage those interested in church music to attend the "Better Church Music" conference to be held at Ridgecrest, North Carolina, in August. In 1921 and 1922 music conferences had been held, and the 1925 session featured "Gospel Music." Sellers was in charge of the session in 1926, and another "Better Church Music" conference was held in 1927. However, Ridgecrest had been under the control of the Education Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. By 1928 the Sunday School Board had assumed control, and "Better Church Music" conferences were discontinued.

In 1926 a recommendation was made to the Convention that the Sunday School Board give careful consideration to the establishment

of a Church Music Department for the purpose of improving the music in the various church services. After study of the suggestion the Board decided not to establish a new department at the time. The same recommendation and the same result were experienced in 1933. At this time, of course, the American economy did not favor any new efforts calling for financial outlay.

Organization of Southern Baptist Church Music

In 1935 B. B. McKinney (1886-1952) ended his association with Coleman to become music editor of the Baptist Sunday School Board. McKinney received his formal training at Mount Lebanon Academy in Louisiana and Louisiana College, Bush Conservatory of Music in Chicago, and in 1922 received the bachelor of music degree from the Siegel-Myers School of Music, a correspondence school in Chicago. Oklahoma Baptist University conferred an honorary doctor of music degree on him in 1942. From 1919 to 1931 he served on the faculty of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, teaching theory and composition and serving as assistant to Reynolds, director of the school. McKinney was continually active in evangelistic work, and in 1931 left the Seminary to become assistant pastor of the Travis Avenue Baptist Church in Fort Worth, the position in which he was serving when he was called to Nashville.

One of the most important tasks of McKinney was the compilation of the *Broadman Hymnal* (1940). John L. Hill of the Sunday School Board served as literary editor, and McKinney was music editor. They were assisted by music directors throughout the South, and a committee at the Sunday School Board screened all songs and hymns for doctrinal accuracy, words, and appropriate music. This hymnal was printed both in round and shaped notes and was orchestrated. It consisted of hymns, gospel songs, choir selections, responsive readings, and aids to worship. Gospel hymns provided the bulk of the content, comprising approximately 56 per cent of the total. Many of McKinney's own gospel songs and arrangements were included.

The step taken by the Sunday School Board in hiring a music editor still failed to provide for active, denomination-wide promotion

for better music in the churches. A group of musicians, and others interested in Baptist church music, met at the Baptist Bible Institute in New Orleans on May 12, 1937, as a result of a long-felt need that had not been met by the Convention. This group signed a memorial to the Convention, asking for a study of conditions and needs of Southern Baptist church music. Many outstanding pastors, educators, and musicians signed this document. The Convention appointed a study committee; Dr. J. W. Storer was chairman and served through the 1940 Convention.

As early as 1930 Reynolds asked the Sunday School Board's Department of Survey, Statistics, and Information for an accurate survey of Southern Baptist church music. During the depression era there was a lack of time, money, and trained personnel to conduct such a survey. As a result of the efforts of Reynolds and of Storer's committee, the Convention approved a survey, which the Board made in 1938.

The *Southern Baptist Handbook* of 1939 was devoted to the results of the music survey. Some of the pertinent facts of this survey were:

1. Over half of all Southern Baptist churches spent nothing on church music programs.

2. Nearly 5 per cent of the churches had no kind of musical instrument.

3. A large number of both rural and urban churches used anthems, but only 8.9 per cent of the urban and 1.61 per cent of the rural churches used them regularly.

4. A majority of the churches expressed a desire for the organizing of Junior-age choirs and a Junior hymnal.

5. Only 21.6 per cent of the music directors had any type of training, even though it consisted of only a two-week singing school.

6. While 57.2 per cent of the urban churches used a definite order of service 89.72 per cent of the rural churches lacked a definite, planned order. Some of this was from the belief that the Holy Spirit inspired spontaneous worship.

7. Only 18.9 per cent of the urban churches used choir robes, but others were considering using them.

8. *Songs of Faith* and *Modern Hymnal* were the two most widely used hymnals among the churches.

The survey suggested that the primary need of the churches was trained leadership and the proper type of songbooks. The rural churches needed the most help, and the study committee made plans to give them the most. These churches needed leadership, hymnals, and training schools that would lift levels of appreciation as well as ability to participate musically in the services.

By 1940 some state conventions had become interested in church music. Sunday school and Training Union leadership conferences had training periods for music, as did pastor's conferences preceding the annual meetings. The Sunday School Board had published two tracts by Sellers: "An Adequate Church Music Program," and "Worship—The Act and Its Meaning." An effort was even made to have the Baptist Book Stores establish anthem and cantata rental libraries.

In 1941 the establishment of a Church Music Department within the Sunday School Board was approved, and McKinney became its first secretary. At first McKinney's task was one of promotion among the states, the Ridgecrest conference being one of the most important projects. For many years this annual conference has been supplemented by another at Glorieta, New Mexico. As the work began to grow, a need arose for a new textbook to replace the earlier ones of Reynolds. In 1942 McKinney and Allen W. Graves wrote *Let Us Sing*, which was a part of the Training Union study course. This book attempted to give the reasons for church music, the general churchwide program of music including the various choirs, some elementary conducting, and lists of materials. State conventions began to select trained persons as approved workers for church music, and the work began to grow rapidly.

In 1944 the Convention instructed the Board to expand its Church Music Department. New personnel were to be added in Nashville, and the Board would also encourage the hiring of state convention secretaries of music similar to those of Sunday school and Training Union work. The Board agreed to pay as much as \$1,200 a year toward the salary of a trained state convention secretary. The secretaries were in turn to establish strong associational organizations within each state. The organizational life of every unit in denomina-

tional structure was designed to include music. The Church Music Department established its own Standard of Excellence, patterned after those of the Sunday school and Training Union.

In 1945 the Sunday School Board bought the Coleman Publishing Company's copyrights, plates, and the use of the Coleman name. For a time books were issued under a joint Board and Coleman label, but the necessity arose for making song plates for printing. Thus, a music type-setting firm was bought and established as part of the Board's operations. McKinney died in 1952 and was succeeded by W. Hines Sims.

It would be impossible to discuss every facet of the work of the Church Music Department, but tracts and materials are available that do this very thing. Outside of the establishment of a church music program the most important contribution to Southern Baptist life has been the *Baptist Hymnal* (1956). The necessity of a new hymnal had been discussed for years prior to its actual publication. Committees had been appointed, but the first one did not even meet. In 1953 plans were launched to publish a new hymnal. It was the desire of the Sunday School Board that the new hymnal express Southern Baptist convictions and contain the very best possible hymns and gospel songs. A committee of teachers, musicians, theologians, rural and urban pastors, and generally, the best cross-current of Southern Baptist life was selected to compile the hymnal.

The design of the hymnal is primarily congregational, with the elimination of choir music, solos, duets, and other noncongregational types. It contains over 500 hymns and gospel songs, calls to worship, and responses. There are also a church covenant, 102 responsive readings, and 9 indexes. The physical structure is durable and one of beauty. Tunes have been transposed to more comfortable keys, some are better harmonized for congregational singing, and as far as possible, standard hymn tune names are used.

Baptist Hymnal represents a blending of elements from the gospel-song-type hymnals widely used by Southern Baptists up to this time and the hymn-oriented type typified by the 1926 *New Baptist Hymnal* and most Protestant denominational hymnals. Unlike *New Baptist Hymnal* it makes use of old folk hymns and gospel songs that are

particularly dear to many Southern Baptists. By drawing heavily on the wider field of Christian hymnody, however, it gives Southern Baptist churches access to much excellent material that earlier Southern books had omitted.

Two other activities related to the Department of Church Music deserve mention. The *Church Musician* is a monthly magazine published by the department, containing music and articles related to the varied music activities now being sponsored by Baptist churches. Editorial slant of the magazine is similar to that of *Baptist Hymnal*. Some materials are realistically slanted to the known musical preferences of Southern Baptists and others are included for the sake of widening present horizons. A new publication, *Junior Musician*, makes its first appearance in the fall of 1963.

The second development in recent years is carried on by state convention music departments, being an outgrowth but not a direct activity of the Sunday School Board department. This is the state or regional clinic or festival. Churches of a given area have an opportunity to send representatives of their various special musical activities. Competent professional leaders (sometimes non-Baptists) offer instruction to, and also evaluation of, participating musicians. In addition to this professional counsel, musicians benefit from learning about what other churches in their area are doing. Improvement in both selection and performance is resulting.

Until recently, the development of music among Southern Baptists has been slow and arduous. It cannot be said that a state of perfection has been reached. Rather, it is now possible to really start to work.

VII

Music of the Methodists

THE METHODIST Church had its beginning in the lives of two brothers, John (1703-91) and Charles (1707-88) Wesley. These two men were from a very devout family, and while students at Oxford University formed a religious study group. Because of their methodical habits of living and study, they were called "methodists." John and Charles were ordained into the Anglican Church, and were sent to America to help stabilize the Georgia colonies with religious services.

The turning point in their lives came, perhaps, on the journey across the Atlantic. On board ship they came in contact with a group of Moravians who were enthusiastic hymn singers. During a raging storm, these people maintained their composure and sang hymns for assurance of God's protecting hand. John was so impressed he made a detailed study of their hymnal, *Das Gesang-Buch der Gemeinde in Herrnhut*, used in their home church in Herrnhut, Germany. Such hymn singing was practically unknown in the Anglican services, and Wesley promptly set about to introduce some English translations of Moravian hymns into his services in Georgia.

Introducing hymn singing into the services was not as easy as it might appear. In 1737 John Wesley was haled into court on twelve charges, three of them dealing with his alleged changes in the Anglican service: first, for changing the order of Anglican liturgy; second, for singing psalms not authorized for the church services; and third, for singing hymns not authorized by the church. These three changes were true. Wesley was using devotional materials prepared by those who refused to swear allegiance to the Crown. He was using the old prayer book of 1549 instead of the authorized prayer book of 1662. The only authorized psalters were either Tate and Brady or Sternhold and Hopkins. Wesley had issued a *Collection of Psalms and*

Hymns (1737), printed at Charles-Town, South Carolina. Wesley was familiar with these other psalters, but preferred the psalms of Watts and others that he had included in the *Collection*. Most certainly the hymns of Watts or any of the other authors had not been approved by the church.¹

It is interesting to note, however, that not one of these three charges were brought up against him during the trial. It appears that during his work on the *Collection* John became interested in a Miss Sophia Hopkey. He was torn between the desire of marriage and not being married, and found it impossible to make up his mind. Wesley prayed and drew lots on March 4, 1737, with the conviction that this would settle the matter. The lot was in favor of remaining single and Miss Hopkey became engaged to another man, William Williamson, in just a few days. They planned to be married and asked John Wesley to publish the banns. After an interval in which Wesley either forgot or refused to publish the banns, the two were married without the publication. When the new Mrs. Williamson came for communion several weeks later, Wesley refused to serve her, whereupon Mr. Williamson sued Wesley for defamation of character. The trial was based more upon a love affair than upon Wesley's musical practices. The vote of the court was against Wesley on all twelve points, but no sentencing took place. Since Wesley was not given any kind of sentence or fine, his hymnal was never officially condemned. Perhaps if the trial had taken place in London where the authorities and the Anglican Church were more strict in those matters, he would have been sentenced and his work officially condemned.²

Wesleyan Hymnody

The Wesley brothers returned to England and began their work in evangelism and hymnody, which would help to change the religious life of the English-speaking world. Sixty-three hymnals were published by them between 1737 and 1786. Many hymns that were published had their origin in Moravian hymnody and were translated by John. Many others were produced by either Charles or John. They had discovered that singing was an effective means of

spreading the gospel. The first hymnal to contain notation was *A Collection of Thirty-Six Tunes . . . sung at the Foundry* (1742), so named because they were holding meetings in a building formerly used by the government for the casting of cannon. This *Collection* was followed by *Hymns on the Great Festivals and Other Occasions* (1746), with twenty-four tunes by John Lampe. This hymnal foreshadowed later American popular hymnody, both in words and music. The tunes of Lampe were highly decorated with embellishments to the melody. In 1753 Thomas Butts, a personal friend of the Wesleys, published *Harmonia Sacra*, which included decorated melodies.

This decoration of melodies was very common among the populace where folk music was popular. Because the singing of psalms had been slowed down, extra notes were added between melody notes the same as was done to secular folk songs. It was not long until John Wesley condemned this type of hymnody. In 1761 he published *Select Hymns for the Use of Christians* in which he laid down his directions for singing: (1) learn the tunes of the hymnal first; (2) sing them as printed without decoration; (3) sing all of them; (4) sing heartily; (5) sing modestly; (6) sing in tune; (7) above all, sing spiritually.

Isaac Watts had only laid a foundation upon which Charles and John Wesley built. Where Watts had won a place for original hymns in worship alongside psalms, Charles went farther and developed hymns of "human composure." He spent little time on psalm versifications, but engaged himself in hymn production. He is reputed to have written over six thousand hymns, but this traditional estimate cannot be verified. Beyond doubt, Charles Wesley was a very prolific hymn writer.

The works of Watts and of Wesley have many contrasts. Watts's hymns tend to be more formal and objective, where Wesley's tend to be more personal and intimate. Both men were alike in the objectives of hymn writing but different in the development of basic materials. The work of each was complementary to that of the other. Even their education and religious persuasions were different. Watts was a Calvinist and worked with the framework of Noncon-

formity, while Wesley was an Arminian and never really left the Anglican Church.

In 1700 English-speaking Christians had to rely upon the old psalmody for church music, which proved to be quite inadequate for evangelism. By 1740 a new manner of singing is seen: the revivalists could sing new texts, chiefly supplied by Isaac Watts. The Wesleys afforded an even greater supply of new texts, but the thing the Great Awakening lacked the most was suitable tunes.

John Wesley recognized the need for new tunes and attempted to supply them. He realized that no great religious movement could exist without a suitable body of songs. His mistake lay in turning to Moravian tunes, for they were foreign to Englishmen and Americans. Even his admonitions concerning correct singing were of no avail. This is not to say that the Wesley revivals were without great singing, but the lack of familiar tunes created a problem concerning the amount of participation that would come from the congregations. Seemingly, it never occurred to the evangelists to use well-known folk tunes for hymns.

Methodism in America

Methodism was brought to the New World by some of John Wesley's lay preachers in 1766. They had not been authorized by Wesley to start their new work, and the first official Methodist ministers arrived in 1769. These men started chapels first in Maryland and in New York City, but had spread to Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia in 1774. In 1780 there were 8,540 Methodists in our country, 7,808 of whom were south of Pennsylvania. It was John Wesley's insistence that Methodism would be a movement within the Anglican Church that gave the young denomination such growth in Maryland and Virginia, both strong Anglican colonies.⁸

The political position taken by John Wesley during the Revolutionary War wavered from one that agreed with the colonists' cause to one of disagreement. This anti-American position and the fact that Methodists were considered a part of the Church of England embarrassed American Methodists greatly. Some devout members

were jailed, coated with tar and feathers, or subjected to other forms of punishment.

Soon after the war began the English preachers began to leave, with the exception of Francis Asbury. The departure of these men lessened colonial resentment of the Methodists but created a serious shortage of ordained men who could administer the sacraments.

Following the war, Methodists were no longer willing to have English control of their affairs, even though it would involve their relationship to Wesley. American Methodists had organized their work around Francis Asbury out of necessity and wished to retain his leadership. It did not take Wesley long to realize that something must be done to retain the allegiance of the new republic's Methodists. Accordingly, Wesley formulated a three-point plan of action which was: (1) the appointment of Dr. Thomas Coke to go to the United States in 1784 to act as co-superintendent of the American brethren with Asbury; (2) two preachers were sent along with Coke with the authority to ordain American preachers; and (3) Wesley sent three official letters, an outline of his plans for work in America, a statement that he had ordained Coke, and a justification of his right to ordain and to have others ordain under his direction. Wesley did not intend for these newly ordained men to be bishops but "superintendents." In fact, he did not refer to his ordination of Coke as an ordination but as a "setting apart."

From these documents it is apparent that Wesley did not intend for the Methodists of America to become an independent group, separate from the Church of England. He referred to the American Methodists as "our brethren . . . who desire to remain under my care and still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England."⁴ The liturgy Wesley sent along was his *Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America*, which included all of the rituals necessary for the worship of the church except confirmation. In other words, under Anglican rules local membership would be impossible.

However, what Wesley wanted and what American Methodists wanted were two different things. When it was seen that Methodists in the New World wanted complete independence from Wesley and England, a meeting was convened December 24, 1784, in

Baltimore, which was attended by about sixty of the eighty-one ministers in the colonies. During the next ten days emerged the Methodist Episcopal Church, modeled after Wesley's doctrines and liturgy, having its own organization and no English ties. Methodism thus became a separate denomination in America before it did in England.

Wesley did not believe that there was a definite pattern of church government found in the New Testament; government was secondary in importance. He had discovered in England that the Anglican parish system was ineffective in reaching the multitudes. To supplant the parish, or perhaps to extend its ministry, Wesley sent out itinerant preachers covering a large circuit of churches. This plan was adopted in the United States as a means of evangelizing the frontier.

Although American Methodism had some organizational similarity to the Anglican Church, its flexibility made it adaptable to the frontier. Methodist circuit riders and Baptist preacher-farmers were responsible for most of the religious activity on the frontier. The Methodist traveling preachers generally lacked a formal education, but they were thoroughly trained in the doctrines and practices of their denomination. Methodists were not opposed to education, as were most of the Baptists; nor were they insistent upon an educated ministry, as were the Presbyterian and Congregational groups. Methodists believed a man could preach without an education but would, perhaps, do a better job with some formal training.

Not only did the circuit rider preach, but he also sold Bibles and religious books. The Methodist Book Concern had been established in New York City in 1789. Methodists were the first American religious group to organize an official publication house. *The Methodist Magazine* appeared in 1818, *The Christian Advocate* in 1826, *The Western Christian Advocate* in 1834. *The Christian Advocate* had a paid circulation surpassed only by the *London Times* in 1829.⁵ The circuit rider was an agent for the periodicals distributed in his territory; and wherever he went, Methodist literature could be found. Business flourished so between 1789 and 1820 that a branch of the Book Concern was opened in Cincinnati in 1820. Besides

religious books and papers, the Concern also published school books and teaching supplies.⁶ The Cokesbury Book Stores of the twentieth century, named after the two early leaders Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke, continue a distribution ministry nearly two centuries after it was commenced in 1789.

In 1784, when Wesley sent American Methodists his *Sunday Service*, he wrote, in commending this service to "Our Societies in America": "I believe there is no Liturgy in the World, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety than the Common Prayer of the Church of England. And though the main of it was compiled considerably more than two hundred years ago, yet is the language of it not only pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree."

The service was adaptable for a service of evening prayer, in which certain portions were changeable. The following outline is abridged from the adapted form of Wesley's Service as given in the *Methodist Hymnal* (1935). It shows the structure of the service, with the variable portions for evening prayer noted:

The Prelude

Scripture Sentences

Hymn

Call to Confession

General Confession

Prayer of Pardon (by the minister)

The Lord's Prayer (said by all)

Venite (Psalm 95, said or sung by all)

Psalter (said by all)

Gloria Patri

Old Testament Lesson

Te Deum (the Magnificat, Luke 1:46-55, for evening prayer)

New Testament Lesson

Jubilate Deo (Psalm 100; the Nunc Dimittis, Luke 2:29-32, for evening prayer)

The Declaration of Faith

Collect for Grace (other collects for evening prayer)

Prayer

The Offertory

The Sermon

The Benediction

A sheaf of hymns was included so the congregation would have appropriate hymns to sing.

Methodist Hymnals

The *Sunday Service* proved to be unsatisfactory to the people as a hymnal. Subsequently *The Pocket Hymn Book* was issued unofficially in 1785, and adopted as the official Methodist hymnal in 1790. In 1802 the title was changed to *The Methodist Pocket Hymn Book*. There were no copyright laws forbidding compilers to use material from other hymnals; therefore, some hymns were freely used and changed to suit the tastes of the compiler. All of these "Pocket" hymnals were based upon an earlier hymnal published by Ezekiel Cooper in England. Cooper's book had proved to be very popular, and early Methodists undoubtedly brought copies of this book to America. Bishop Asbury and Daniel Hitt compiled a *Supplement to the Pocket Hymn Book* in 1808.

In 1821 *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church* appeared. A fire destroyed the Book Concern in 1836, also destroying the plates of this hymnal. Dr. Nathan Bangs issued a new edition of the *Collection*, adding to it his own Supplement of ninety hymns. A third edition was published in 1849.

A controversy over slavery in 1844 split the Methodist Episcopal Church into two groups: the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. An earlier controversy had caused the creation of the Methodist Protestant Church. These three groups all produced hymnals for use in their churches.

The Southern group published *A Collection of Hymns* in 1847 and *Songs of Zion* in 1851. Both of these hymnals contained only the words to the hymns, omitting the tunes. In 1859 *The Wesleyan Hymn and Tune Book*, containing the hymns from the *Collection* of 1847, was issued with the music prepared by Lemuel C. Everett.

The hymnal of 1847 is organized as follows:

PART I—PUBLIC WORSHIP

I. Being and Perfections of God

- II. Mediation of Christ
- III. Offices of the Holy Ghost
- IV. Institutions of Christianity:
 - 1. The Church
 - 2. The Ministry
 - 3. Baptism
 - 4. The Lord's Supper
 - 5. The Sabbath
- V. The Gospel Call
- VI. Penitential Exercises
- VII. Christian Experience:
 - 1. Justification and the New Birth
 - 2. Entire Sanctification and Perfect Love
 - 3. Duties and Trials
- VIII. Death and the Future State
- IX. Special Occasions:
 - 1. Missions
 - 2. Bible
 - 3. Erection of Churches
 - 4. Education of Youth
 - 5. The Seasons
 - 6. National Solemnities
 - 7. On a Voyage

PART II—SOCIAL WORSHIP

- I. Communion of Saints
- II. Prayer

PART III—DOMESTIC WORSHIP

- I. The Family
- II. The Closet

BENEDICTIONS AND DOXOLOGIES

The majority of the 1,063 hymns, benedictions, and doxologies are by the Wesleys themselves. Approximately thirty titles are still in use today (e.g. "Love Divine," "Christ, Whose Glory Fills the Skies," "Come, Thou Long Expected Jesus").

What appears to non-Methodists to be an unusual division of hymns is found under "Christian Experience: Entire Sanctification and Perfect Love." Of the sixty hymns in this section, all but three were written by Charles Wesley, and those three were translations of German or French hymns by John Wesley. Scholars are not fully

agreed about the meaning John Wesley attached to "sanctification" and "perfect love," but regardless of the meaning, these hymns teach it very strongly. For example:

Change my nature into thine!
Move, and spread throughout my soul. (492)

And, sanctified by love Divine,
For ever cease from sin. (493)

Where fear, and sin, and grief expire,
Cast out by perfect love. (497)

"I have now obtained the power,
Born of God, to sin no more." (511)

An abridgement of the Wesleyan hymnal appeared in 1881 under the title *The New Hymn Book*, even though it proved to be basically the older hymnal. Finally, in 1889, the last hymnal published by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, appeared, entitled *Hymn Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*. This hymnal contained 918 hymns, 11 doxologies, and 14 chants. An edition containing music was also issued under the title *Hymn and Tune Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*.

The Methodist Protestant Church adopted a hymnbook by John J. Harrod of Baltimore, who had compiled the work in 1828, which bore the simple title of *Hymn Book*. In 1838 and 1859 the *Hymn Book of the Methodist Protestant Church* was issued, with little difference between the two editions.

In 1867 a controversy in this group caused the formation of the Methodist Church. This church issued one hymnal in 1872 entitled *The Voice of Praise*. In 1877 the two groups again were united and wished to have one hymnal, even though the General Conference had approved the hymnals of both churches. Subsequently *The Tribute of Praise and Methodist Protestant Hymn Book* was issued in 1882. *The Tribute of Praise* had been published in 1874 by Eben Tourjée and was bought and revised by the Methodists. This was

the first Methodist Protestant hymnal containing words and music.

In 1905 the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, combined their forces to issue *The Methodist Hymnal*. Finally, these two groups were joined by the Methodist Protestant Church in 1935 to publish a joint Methodist hymnal that would serve all Methodist churches in the United States. By 1939 the three groups had merged to form the Methodist Church, and the *Methodist Hymnal* of 1935 became the official hymnal of the church. At the present (1963) a committee is working on a revision of this hymnal.

All of these official hymnals were attempts to maintain the standards for church music that had been established by Wesley. The early hymnals contained a large number of folk hymns that gradually became displaced by hymns of the Oxford Movement and other English hymns, as well as hymns written by Americans. The Methodists must be commended for their selection of desirable hymns out of the contemporary life of each worshiping generation for inclusion in their hymnals.⁷

Methodist Denominational Organization

The denominational program of Methodists centers around three conferences: the quarterly conference, the business and educational authority in each local Methodist church; the annual conference, a regional organization of ministers and lay delegates from local Methodist churches; and the General Conference, the national organization meeting every four years.

The General Conference is the policy-making body within Methodism. Education programs, requirements for ordination, doctrines, and all aspects of official Methodist life originate with this body. Those things which are accepted by the General Conference are embodied in the *Discipline of the Methodist Church*, which serves as a source for the local church's authority in matters of doctrine, policy, and program of work.

The annual conferences are responsible for seeing that the local Methodist churches within an area carry out the policies established by the General Conference. A minister is ordained and certified by

an annual conference. He may remain a member of his original conference or may transfer to another one on moving to another area. Annual conferences are responsible for the doctrinal integrity of their ministers and churches, divergent theological positions being allowed within the Methodist Church today.

The educational activities of the Methodist Church are directed by the General Board of Education. Within this General Board are several divisions and departments, all designed to provide an educational ministry to the local church. For many years the General Board of Education has had a constructive program of church music development. In 1952 the General Conference directed the General Board's Division of the Local Church to develop some standards governing the work of the local director of music. In 1956 the General Conference changed "Director of Music" to read "Minister of Music," and the 1960 General Conference defined "Minister of Music" to mean only a person who has been ordained and is a member of an annual conference. After thorough consultation with the Department of Ministerial Education and the Division of Higher Education, and with many individuals and schools concerned with the promotion of better church music, the standards for a minister and director of music were established. The purpose of these standards is fourfold: (1) to guide the local churches in developing qualified persons for certification; (2) to guide educational institutions in preparing students for the position of minister or director of music; (3) to guide individuals in their preparation for certification; and (4) to provide a basis for the Methodist Church to certify the competency of music leaders.

The requirements for certification as a minister of music in a local Methodist church are:

1. Recognized Christian character; a pronounced desire to serve Christ and promote His Kingdom; attractive personality.
2. Physical fitness; maturity in emotions and judgment.
3. Respect for persons and a desire to help persons grow religiously through music.
4. Personal competence and leadership ability in vocal and instrumental music.

5. Successful experience for at least one year as the leader of music in a Methodist church, in which ability is demonstrated to work in the total music program.

6. Knowledge of Methodist ritual and procedures; knowledge of local church and church school organization and administration.

7. Practical knowledge of Christian education; knowledge of teaching procedures for all age groups; willingness to co-operate in the purposes and plans of the church for children, youth, and adults.

8. Commitment to a self-directed program of study and improvement, including (a) personal devotional life; (b) reading, including professional journals and magazines; (c) membership in professional groups, denominational or interdenominational; (d) attendance at institutes and conferences for church musicians; (e) additional graduate study at intervals.

9. Written recommendation (on blanks prepared by the Division of the Local Church of the General Board of Education) from five persons well acquainted with the applicant's qualifications and experience, including a Methodist minister with whom the applicant is now serving or has most recently served, a Methodist church musician who is serving as the leader of music in a Methodist church, and a qualified person on a church school staff, such as a director of Christian education and/or a church school superintendent with whom the applicant has worked. All persons issuing or giving references and recommendations are requested to supply information in terms of time and place of the relationship of the individual to the applicant.

10. Ministerial membership in good standing in an Annual Conference.

11. Academic background: As a minimum requirement, a Bachelor's degree with a music major from an accredited college or university, and a Bachelor of Divinity degree or its equivalent. A transcript of all academic credits will be required from the applicant. In recording those certified as meeting these standards, the highest earned academic degree is to appear after the name.

The only difference in certification on requirements for a minister of music and a director of music is found in items 10 and 11. The director of music is required to belong to a Methodist church and be serving the Methodist Church, and only a Bachelor's degree with a music major is required.³

The *Discipline of the Methodist Church* sets forth the duties and responsibilities of the minister or director of music. In general, they

may be reduced to three: (1) he is to be administratively responsible to the pastor; (2) he is to direct the total church music program, including graded choirs and music in Christian education; and (3) he is to direct his program in accordance with the standards for church music established by the General Board of Education. It is assumed that he has the training and ability to conduct such a program because of the certification requirements.

When a church wishes to employ a minister or director of music, the *Discipline* states that

On the nomination of the pastor, with the concurrence of the Music Committee, the Committee on Education, and the Committee on Pastoral Relations or the Committee on Lay Personnel, the Quarterly Conference [local church authority] may annually request the bishop to appoint, or may employ, a minister or director of music, who shall direct the total music program of the local church in accordance with the standards of the General Board of Education and of the General Commission on Worship . . . his title shall be minister of music if he is an ordained ministerial member of an Annual Conference, or director of music if he is a layman.

In 1955 eighty-six musicians from across the United States met at Estes Park, Colorado, to explore the possibility of a national organization of Methodist musicians. In July, 1956, an organizing committee reported to another nationally representative group at Williams Bay, Wisconsin, resulting in the "birth" of the National Fellowship of Methodist Musicians (NaFOMM). The constitution was signed by 110 persons on Friday, July 13, 1956.

The objectives of this group are to establish and maintain high standards of church music, to help students and institutions select curricula and personnel for church music training, and to compose new music literature. The Methodist Publishing House has a staff of well-qualified musicians who are responsible for the publication of new music and to promote the usage of the highest and best of church music literature. NaFOMM holds biennial nation-wide conferences and works in co-operation with General and annual con-

ference agencies. The fellowship was presented to the General Conference and was accepted and approved by unanimous vote. In accordance with the *Discipline*, NaFOMM assists the Division of the Local Church of the General Board of Education in developing standards and qualification for certification as ministers and directors of music.

Music Ministry is a magazine supported by NaFOMM and published by the Methodist Publishing House. This forty-eight page magazine contains features of a general nature, a music folio of several choral and organ selections, and departments for graded choirs, organ, and music reviews.

The executive secretary of NaFOMM is also the director of the Ministry of Music, Division of the Local Church of the General Board. This department and NaFOMM sponsor many regional clinics and conferences in the field of church music. These church music institutes are intended for local church musicians of all degrees of skill.

It would seem that the Methodist Church is promoting a church music program that emphasizes artistic standards. Good music, especially older music from the liturgical church tradition, is constantly stressed and published in *Music Ministry*. Articles, conferences, and other attempts are made to correlate the arts and worship. The practicability of all this to the local congregation of average ability is questionable. The liturgical movement is quite strong within Methodism; and the smaller churches with the more evangelistic, folk music tradition may find it difficult to absorb and assimilate the more artistic approach to music and worship. Indeed, some Methodist churches use the *Methodist Hymnal* with a more formal type of worship on Sunday morning, and an alternate book on Sunday evening to provide for the more evangelistic type of music and service. This is an attempt to meet the needs of people within the church that come from the two different backgrounds, and an attempt that may have a great deal of merit.

Music Ministry is a high quality magazine that is designed primarily for church music leadership and not necessarily the individual choir member. As a result, the contents of this magazine are usually

excellent, dealing with the real meaning and purpose of church music and worship and not simply promotional plans or stories.

The Methodist Church is to be commended for its standards for the certification for directors and ministers of music and for the high quality of its materials. Methodists are doing much to improve the quality of church music. Their church organizational structure and their religious heritage unite to produce a vigorous, working program of church music.

VIII

The Presbyterians and the Disciples

THE TWO denominations to be discussed in this chapter have not been closely related through the course of their histories. Early leaders of the Disciples movement came from Presbyterian backgrounds, but the movement early assumed distinctive characteristics that separated it from Presbyterianism. In a sense, then, the musical histories of the groups properly belong in separate chapters. In terms of the approach that this book takes, however, these histories are necessarily briefer than those of the Baptists and the Methodists. Placing the Presbyterians and the Disciples together, therefore, is largely a matter of convenience in organization.

American Presbyterianism

American Presbyterians have received the spiritual heritage of John Calvin and the musical heritage of the psalters. At first they used the Puritan psalters but gradually adopted *Psalmes of David in English Meeter* (1643) by Francis Rous. The Scottish psalter of 1650 was based largely on Rous's psalter and is extant in Scotland today. However, these two books were not popular in England.¹

Evangelistic fervor of the Great Awakening caused a split between "old lights" and "new lights" in 1741. The old light party was insistant on a strict interpretation and subscription to the Westminster Confession, which was strongly predestinarian. The schism had been healed by 1758, but the union was uneasy.

This schism spilled over into music also. Old lights preferred either the Rous psalter or one prepared by William Barton in 1644. New lights favored either Tate and Brady or Watts. Younger, new Presbyterian churches had little difficulty in accepting new psalters.

Although the theological schism was healed in a few years, the singing controversy lasted for a century. The Third Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia adopted Watts in 1788, and the Carlisle, Pennsylvania, church in 1824. The opposition to Watts's psalters is not clear, but was probably because he made rather free versifications of the psalms and included "hymns of human composure" in the books. Timothy Dwight's *Psalms of David*, patterned after Watts's work, was approved by the General Assembly in 1802.

James Lyon's *Urania* did not help much, even though Lyon was a Presbyterian. *Urania* was used extensively in singing schools, and Andrew Adgate promoted it in his schools. This early singing master also issued five books of his own between 1787 and 1788, among them was *Select Psalms and Hymns for the Use of Mr. Adgate's Pupils, and Proper for All Singing Schools*. This book included many hymns by writers other than Watts.²

Since earlier books proved to be unsatisfactory, *The Hartford Selection* was published in 1799. An eighth edition appeared in 1821 edited by Rev. Nathan Strong and others. This hymnal was not good because the psalms were not "accommodated to America." The General Assembly agreed to help sponsor a new book of Watts's psalms revised by Dwight. Since there was a desire for the inclusion of both hymns and psalms, the finished product included 263 hymns, 168 by Watts and 95 by others. Timothy Dwight was the grandson of Jonathan Edwards and served as a president of Yale from 1795 to 1817. This hymnal was used until 1840.³

A greater need arose for evangelistic songs in the early 1800s, and Asahel Nettleton published *Village Hymns* in 1824. This was based largely on the *Olney Hymns* (1779), and included hymns by the Wesleys, Montgomery, Steele, and Heber. This was not an official Presbyterian hymnal but was widely used. Nettleton also published a companion book, *Zion's Harp*, containing many of the recommended hymns.⁴

In 1831 the General Assembly accepted and published *Psalms and Hymns*, a hymnal of 531 hymns, 215 being by Watts. Although the book was not very successful, it was the first official endorsement since Dwight's *Watts* in 1802.

A Plan of Union, adopted in 1801, provided for co-operation between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the early West. The result of this Plan of Union was that many Congregationalists joined churches that eventually became Presbyterian. The "Presbygational" churches were looked upon with disfavor among more conservative ministers. Two parties began to emerge; the "Old School", holding to the strict Calvinism of the Westminster Confession; and the other, the "New School."

There were many conflicts between the two groups, the "Old School" feeling that the other group practiced loose doctrine and loose discipline. The abolition feeling was more evident in the "New School", but surprisingly, it did not want man-made hymns. The General Assembly of 1832 had been preceded by an "Old School" convention which expelled four "New School" Presbyteries. Those expelled found it impossible to return in 1838, so founded a New School Presbyterian Church.

Controversy over slavery was brought to a head in 1861 when forty-seven Southern presbyteries formed the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. This division still exists, the Presbyterian Church, U. S., being the southern group, and the United Presbyterian Church, representing continuation of the Northern group.⁵

Presbyterian Hymnals and Practices

The New School-Old School fight kept music from developing. Even men like Lowell Mason and Thomas Hastings could not help. Hastings was a Presbyterian and a popular hymn writer among Presbyterians but was unable to affect any great changes beyond the use of the psalms.

The first hymnal to include music above the words was *The Plymouth Collection* (1855) by Henry Ward Beecher, famous preacher and brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

The "New School" published *The Church Psalmist* in 1843, and the "Old School" published *The Presbyterian Psalmist* in 1852, edited by Hastings. In 1857 *The Church Psalmist* was published and used by both groups. Finally, in 1870, the "Old" and "New

Schools" united and published *The Presbyterian Hymnal* in 1874. This was a revision of the first hymnal to break with metrical psalmody, *The Hymnal of the Presbyterian Church* in 1867.

The monumental work and contribution of Presbyterians to hymnody was *The Hymnal*, edited by Dr. Louis Benson and published in 1895. *The Hymnal* contained the finest of hymns written during the nineteenth century, plus the addition of psalm tunes, chorales, and chants from earlier centuries. This was revised in 1911. In 1933 Dr. Clarence Dickinson was the editor for still another revision. These Northern hymnals were almost devoid of gospel songs.

A committee, representing five of the reformed churches in the United States, started work on a new issue of *The Hymnal*. In 1955 the work was completed and the hymnal issued. This new issue represents a return to many of the older hymns and tunes found in the Scottish psalter. In many respects, *The Hymnal* (1955) is a psalter-hymnal, incorporating the best material from both areas. Perhaps as a concession to Southern Presbyterians, it also includes several gospel songs.

In the early Presbyterian churches the church clerk was responsible for "lining out" the psalms to be sung, and in many instances the clerk was assisted by a gallery choir. This function of a church clerk existed until the period 1840-60.

The quartet choir enjoyed much success in Presbyterian churches. These churches have traditionally represented an income group that could afford to spend money on church music, and many Presbyterian churches had organs installed at a very early date.

Compared to Southern Baptists and Methodists, Presbyterians have no organized denominational church music program. An attempt was made to organize a Commission on Music and Worship by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in 1925. An executive committee was appointed which served until 1929 and co-operated in the editing of a hymnal, but was not able to form a permanent group. In 1934 the Board of Christian Education set up an advisory committee on music, with plans for an organized department of music. Calvin W. Laufer was appointed

editor, but nothing was done beyond this. Laufer was succeeded by W. Lawrence Curry in 1938. John Milton Kelly was appointed music director for the Board of Christian Education in 1944. His work has included the preparation of pamphlets, music, and other materials. Mr. Kelly's department has sponsored several music conferences in the summers since 1946.⁶

The Westminster Choir College was founded in 1926 by John Finley Williamson as an outgrowth of his work in the Westminster Presbyterian Church in Dayton, Ohio. From small beginnings in which only a three-year diploma was offered, the school has grown to include graduate courses. While not an official Presbyterian institution, the Westminster Choir College has shaped the musical life of Presbyterian churches and exerted wide influence beyond the denomination.

Many individuals have made contributions to American church music through the Presbyterian church. Among them has been Seth Bingham, composer, organist, and professor at Columbia University; John Hyatt Brewer, one of the founders of the American Guild of Organists; Eric Delamarter, an outstanding composer and organist; Thomas Hastings, already discussed; Lowell Mason; and Raymond Woodman, another organist.⁷

Presbyterians have traditionally had fine music, even though having no denominational program. Their ministers have been among the best educated, and the laymen also have had a high educational level. Among American denominations Presbyterians and Episcopalians have stood out for favoring ministerial education, good music, and reverence in worship.

Baptists and Methodists, on the other hand, originally appealed to the lower cultural groups. The denominational emphases and the music of Baptists and Methodists have reflected the cultural level of the membership. In the twentieth century Baptists and Methodists have experienced a rising cultural level.

The Disciples arose in a milieu similar to that of early Baptists and Methodists, but their emphasis on a rationalistic approach to religion contrasts with the traditional emotionalism of Methodists and Baptists.

It is important for the student of church music to realize that the theology, culture, and religious emphasis of a denomination influence its music. Music and musicians can only go so far in changing a group. Music is symbolic of faith and is most effective when it reflects faith as it actually exists. When culture changes, theology or church music may change with it. The church musician must leave to the theologian the task of determining whether a given theology or a given culture should be reshaped. The musician's task is to make music as representative as possible of an accepted culture.

The Restoration Movement

The religious movement known as "the Restoration" originated on the Western frontier as a revolt against orthodox Calvinism and as a promotion of religious unity. From it have developed two groups, the Christian (or Disciples) churches and the churches of Christ. To understand the movement, it is necessary to understand the four men who were the leaders in the early organization.

Barton W. Stone (1772-1844) was descended from a long, distinguished line of Puritan leaders. The family had accumulated considerable wealth in the tobacco market but during the Revolutionary War blockade lost most of its income. This and the fact that Stone's father died caused the family to move to Virginia in 1775.

Stone began classical studies in David Caldwell's school at Guilford, North Carolina, in 1790. Originally he wanted to be a lawyer, but his natural interest in religion drew him to other paths. James McGready (of the Kentucky Revival) was making contact with a great number of the students in Caldwell's school, many of whom had experienced emotional conversions. Witnessing this phenomenon was disturbing to Stone's sensitive nature but led later to his own conversion.

Following his graduation from school Barton Stone went to Washington, Georgia, to be professor of languages at Hope Hull's school. He stayed only one year, for in 1796 he decided to enter the ministry, receiving his license from the Orange Presbytery.

His ministerial career was a stormy one. He had gone to Kentucky in 1796, pastoring the Cane Ridge Church. In 1798 he was ordained by the Transylvania Presbytery, but became a suspect in the eyes of strict Calvinists for the qualifying of his answers in regard to the Westminster Confession of Faith. Anger was kindled further against Stone when he became the main organizer of the Cane Ridge camp meeting in 1801.

When the Synod of Kentucky decided to try Stone and four other companions for heresy, the men withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Synod. After several attempts were made to reconcile both sides of the controversy, the Synod suspended them from the ministry and declared their pulpits vacant.

After this Stone and his four comrades formed their own Springfield Presbytery. There ensued a battle of pamphlets between both the New Lights (as Stone and his associates were called) and the Presbyterian champions. Finally, in 1804, the Springfield Presbytery was dissolved by common consent, and the men issued what they called "The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery," one of the basic Disciples documents to this day. Attempting to set forth in legal language the platform for which they stood, "The Last Will and Testament" renounced all ecclesiastical organizations, the title of "reverend," and established the independence of each local congregation and the Bible as the only confession of faith.

The term "Christian" was adopted as a working name, and the five ministers continued to preach amidst difficulty. Attacks from the established clergy increased; and some of the leaders withdrew, two returning to the Kentucky Synod from which they had come.

Thomas Campbell (1763-1854), father of Alexander Campbell, was born and raised in Ireland. He was a minister in the Seceder branch of the Presbyterian Church and was a well-educated man, receiving his classical degree at the University of Glasgow. He came to the United States in 1807, leaving his family behind. Arriving in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 13, he found a meeting of Seceder Presbyterians convening, presented his credentials, and was accepted. Three days later he received three small church appointments in which to preach.

By October things had changed. Campbell did not find the close fellowship that he had expected in the new world. His brethren held him with suspicion because of his views concerning the Lord's Supper and other matters. Charges were finally brought against him, and he was dismissed from the Presbytery. By 1809 he had formed the Christian Association of Washington, explaining his position and objectives under the title of "Declaration and Address" (September 7, 1809), which was a declaration of independence from the Presbyterian Synod and the constitution for a new religious movement.

Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) was educated chiefly by his father. He and the rest of the family came to this country in 1809, at about the same time Thomas' "Declaration" was coming off the press. Alexander was entirely dissatisfied with the Seceder Presbyterians, and father and son found many common religious agreements.

The next move was to enlarge the Washington Association through organization of the Brush Run Church, an independent congregation with Alexander Campbell as minister. Within two years the Red Stone Baptist Association had admitted the church after it had adopted immersion. However, Campbell differed in belief from the Baptists. He felt that baptism was an essential part of salvation, while Baptists believed that it was merely an outward sign or symbol of redemption that had already taken place. From 1813 to 1827 Campbell carried on his movement within the Baptist ranks. Campbell's followers constituted a party known as "Re-formers," advocating a return to literal New Testament concepts of Christianity as they understood them. The entire Disciples movement was known as the Restoration—the restoring of pure New Testament Christianity or the "ancient order of things." In 1830 the Mahoning Baptist Association was dissolved, since all the churches had accepted Campbell's teachings.

From 1823 to 1830, Campbell published a paper entitled *the Christian Baptist*. The title was changed to *the Millennial Harbinger* in 1830. In these pages he devoted himself to expounding his views.

Barton Stone heard Alexander Campbell in 1824 and was pleased with the similarities of their teaching. Stone took the initiative which finally united the "Christians" and "Reformers" on January 1, 1832. Since all congregations were independent, union meant simply the uniting of competing congregations in scattered communities.

There are not many references in the works of these men concerning music's place in worship. Stone recorded the affects of church music in his life, and Alexander Campbell merely encouraged the singing of hymns between the various parts of the worship service. He did seem to prefer standing to sing but made no attempt to establish an order of worship. The first organizational comments concerning music come from the next early leader.

Walter Scott (1796-1861) crystallized the evangelistic emphasis of the Restoration. His father was a music teacher; and he was an excellent flutist, singer, and evangelistic song leader. He compiled a hymnal and was the first to list recommended music.

Walter Scott was born in Scotland of Presbyterian forebears and came to the United States in 1818, teaching at the Union Academy of Jamaica, Long Island. He, like the other Restoration leaders, was unhappy religiously.

Scott met Alexander Campbell in 1821 and became associated with Campbell, even writing some in Campbell's papers. In 1826 he moved to Steubenville, Ohio, 14 miles from Campbell and within the Mahoning Baptist Association, which appointed him a pioneer missionary. He was so successful that William Hayden was appointed to accompany him the next year as preacher and singer, leading the singing for the meetings and singing solos.

Scott favored singing schools and founded one at Carthage, Ohio. In his own newspaper, the *Evangelist* of August, 1833, he wrote concerning music: "It is a fact that we can [not] . . . obey the command to sing unless we are at first taught to sing. . . . Let us then try to fix the heart of God's young people by encouraging them to study sacred music. . . . The cultivation of sacred music I judge to be the most important means appointed by God."

A new note was introduced into the religious life of the frontier

with the advent of Restorationism (often called "Campbellism" by others). The new group insisted that salvation was not a supernatural thing, a major factor in the emotional revivalism of Methodists and Baptists. Salvation came through a simple, rational process: believe, repent, confess, and obey—all within the power of man to do. In order to obey, a person had to be immersed and to partake of the Lord's Supper, thus the view that baptism was essential to salvation.

The Calvinistic doctrine of a limited atonement was rejected, the belief being that Christ died for all. This idea of an intellectual faith and a universal salvation appealed to the self-reliant frontiersman.

These distinctive beliefs, plus a rather literal interpretation of the New Testament, are held today by the churches of Christ and some of the Disciples. There is variety of belief among Disciples, some churches holding a more literal view of the Bible and doctrines than others.⁸

Disciples of Christ Hymnals

There were, and still are, many hymnals used by the Disciples churches. However, Alexander Campbell made every effort to insure proper hymns sung by compiling his own hymnal. The various editions and printings can be divided into the following groups:⁹

1. 1828-1834—*Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, selected and published by A. Campbell, four editions set in hand type and printed.

2. 1834-1843—*Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, selected by A. Campbell, W. Scott, B. W. Stone, and J. T. Johnson; five editions plus some stereotyped printings.

3. 1843-1851—same as above; two parts in one volume; at least 25 stereotyped editions in addition to the one printed from hand-set type.

4. 1851-1864—*Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs*, selected by A. Campbell, W. Scott, B. W. Stone, and J. T. Johnson, with numerous additions and amendments by A. Campbell; at least seven editions including stereotyped printings.

5. 1865-1871—*The Christian Hymn Book: a Compilation of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . .* by A. Campbell and others; at least three editions, with several reprintings of each.

6. 1871-1882—*The Christian Hymnal*.

7. 1882—*The Christian Hymnal*, revised; based on earlier Campbell hymnals.

The Disciples and American (Northern) Baptists published a joint hymnal in 1946, which is a decided break with the ones of the past.

The first hymnal to be used by the Restoration was *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of Christians* (1805) by Elias Smith. Besides this there were at least thirteen other hymnals issued before, or in competition with, Alexander Campbell's books. The first hymnals to contain music were Campbell's in 1843 and Silas Leonard's in 1848 (designed to compete with Campbell's book.)

The preface of Campbell's hymnal of 1828 defines "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs": (1) psalms are historic compositions or poetic narratives; (2) hymns are songs of praise in which the excellencies, glories, and gracious acts of some person are extolled; and (3) spiritual songs are either songs, the matter of which immediately suggested by the Holy Spirit; or sentimental songs composed on the divine communications to men. Charles Heath¹⁰ gives examples of hymns that Campbell placed in each class:

PSALMS: "Christ the Lord Is Risen Today"

"Before Jehovah's Awful Throne"

"Jesus Shall Reign"

HYMNS: "All Hail the Power"

"From All That Dwell Below the Skies"

SPIRITUAL SONGS: "Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken"

"How Firm a Foundation"

"Come, Ye That Love the Lord"

"Am I a Soldier of the Cross"

"O God of Bethel, by Whose Hand"

"The Spacious Firmament"

"Lord, Dismiss Us with Thy Blessing"

Walter Scott made his own revision of Campbell's songbook in 1839, without the sanction of Campbell. This publication is interesting, for Scott stated in the preface that the texts have been set to the music of Lowell Mason's *Sacred Harp*, so that the "brethren

may not . . . rely for music on . . . their own memory." Mason's book was a typical oblong one with the first thirty-one pages devoted to music fundamentals. Some of the tunes from this hymnal are still in use today, e. g., "Boylston," "Chesterfield," "Coronation," "Darwell," "Dundee," "Duke Street," "Germany," "Hamburg," "Hanover," "Lyons," "Old Hundredth," and "Olivet."

The Instrumental Controversy

There were two grounds of cleavage within the ranks of the Restoration—the organization of mission societies and the use of instrumental music in worship. These differences led to the separation between the churches of Christ and the Christians (or Disciples). Although the two groups had functioned independently for years, a governmental religious census publicly emphasized it in 1906. The controversy did not begin until after the Civil War, when reed organs became available on the new frontier.

There were several reasons why the followers of the Restorers did not desire instruments in worship. First was the basic teaching of Thomas Campbell: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." His followers never understood that the New Testament was also silent concerning hymnals, pews, buildings, carpets, and many other facets of worship.

Second, there were those who desired a very simple and common order of worship, and an organ could be expected to decorate the proceedings. Old Testament Scriptures were a source of concern to these people, for they found many passages which spoke of the grandeur of worship, as well as the use of musical instruments. Generally, the Old Testament Scriptures came to be regarded as not binding upon New Testament Christians.

Since the only organs available for quite some time were the wheeze pump melodeons, many objected to their inclusion in worship upon aesthetic grounds. Most organs that were worthy of a place in worship had to be imported from Europe. Even those that might be available in this country had to be moved long distances. Thus, the one recourse in most cases would be to use the melodeon or do without.

Finally, there were those who objected to the necessity for an organist to give his attention to the instrument. Alexander Campbell¹¹ had opposed the printing of music along with the texts on the ground that people could not worship if they were burdened with the task of music reading. An organist would be too involved with the aspects of music making to really be able to worship. In many respects this attitude was unartistic and anticultural. Charles Heaton¹² laments the fact that this attitude is still too prevalent among Disciples of Christ churches. There is a lack of concern, a lack of well-trained directors, and a general lack of good music in many churches of this denomination.

In spite of these objections, however, many congregations adopted musical instruments. These are usually called Christian churches, while anti-instrumental congregations are usually called churches of Christ.

It is hard to evaluate the contribution of a denomination other than one's own. Generally speaking, the Disciples have not made a great contribution to hymnody or to American church music. George Brandon¹³ has made a study of the hymns used by Campbell in his hymnal and tried to ascertain their source, the changes Campbell made in them for his own particular beliefs, and their contribution to hymnody.

In the hymnal of 1828 there are twenty-seven psalms, twenty-eight hymns, and forty spiritual songs. A study of the psalms reveals that they came from the following sources: eleven from Independent (English Congregational) authors (Watts and Doddridge mostly), five from Baptists, four from Scottish paraphrases, three from Glassite writers (a Scottish group), two from the Wesleys, and two unknown. It is remarkable that most of them would come from Independent-Baptist sources instead of Scotch Presbyterian sources. This fact shows how much more closely akin the Campbells were to them than to the Presbyterians in theology. This might be explained by the fact that Baptists hold to a modified Calvinism which is a sort of middle ground between Calvinism and Arminianism.

One of the main Baptist sources was the collection of hymns

made by Southern Baptist Andrew Broaddus, entitled the *Dover Selection* (1828). Broaddus and Alexander Campbell were friends, Broaddus even contributing articles occasionally to Campbell's papers. Brandon gives illustrations of hymns located in both the *Dover Selection* and Campbell's 1828 hymnal that reveal the accommodations of text made by Campbell.

In all, there have been about seventy-four authors, composers, and compilers of hymnals among the Disciples. Three of them are fairly well known because of their connection with the gospel-song movement: Charles and James Fillmore, and James McGranahan.

In Heaton's opinion, there is a need for some kind of denominational program to emphasize church music among the Disciples churches. Traditionally these churches are more loosely knit in their organization than either Congregationalists or Baptists. American (Northern) Baptists are organized in a similar manner, but this looseness of organization makes a denominational program difficult. Southern Baptists, and to a certain degree Methodists, have undoubtedly shown that it is possible to have a strong centralized denomination that respects and promotes the autonomy of the local congregation.

IX

Music in Worship

THE PLACE music has in worship can be determined only in relationship to the understanding of what constitutes worship. All religions have objects and exercises of worship, but few members of the Christian religion have any clear concept of the true meaning of worship.

The Meaning of Worship

The word "worship" comes from two Middle English words, "worth" and "ship." In the early 1500s the two became combined into the word we know and use today. "Worth" means a moral or righteous person or thing, and "ship" refers to state, condition, or quality. Therefore, "worthship" in respect to God means that his quality of worth demands our attention and appropriate response. Any act of worship should be in keeping with this meaning of the word. Worship services should recognize the personage of God as moral and righteous, and our services should bring us into consciousness of His presence.

An examination of both the Old and New Testaments reveals that there are two principal words translated "worship." One word means "to prostrate oneself" or "to venerate"; the other means "to serve." Both are translated simply "worship," because they picture what true worship is.

As one studies the New Testament he gains the impression that worship was a vital factor in the success of the early church. Several things are revealed about that worship. First, there was little emphasis upon the externals. There was no emphasis upon special rites or ceremonies. There was, however, a strong emphasis upon worship—individual and corporate—as a matter of the heart.

Second, there was a sense of freedom in worship. People did not worship from fear but love. The Holy Spirit seemed to say, "Love (venerate) God first, then worship (serve) him with your whole heart." Fixed forms of worship and participation in specific rites—even the church ordinances—are not required for the workings of God's grace. Worship is from a free soul and a free heart.

Third, there was less emphasis upon the leader and more upon the congregation. Animal sacrifices and the services of a priest were no longer needed. Everyone was free to approach God through Jesus, the supreme sacrifice and High Priest.

Fourth, the Holy Spirit was experienced in the lives of the individual worshippers. One is impressed by the power and presence of the Spirit, for the early Christians were enabled to do things that were humanly impossible.

Worship thus is twofold. First, the individual must bow his heart in humility before God; then he must go forth to serve him. One reason many of our churches are not experiencing spiritual vitality and growth is because the members have not truly worshiped. There has been no humbling of heart and no desire to serve.

Worship is communication. Christian worship is primarily communication between man and God. This does not rule out corporate worship, for there are some aspects of worship which consist of communication between men. Beyond this, there is a sense in which God's fullest communication of himself to individual men depends on an individual's relation to a worshiping group. In actual practice, worship consists of acts designed to establish a better relationship with God. Worship has mysterious forms and activities, for it deals with the greatest mysteries of life. Yet, these forms and acts have meaning only if one is initiated to their secret. One must be a worshiper to understand worship, and the essence of understanding is appreciation. Only as we sense values can we understand meaning.

In order to establish relationship, communication demands the use of symbols which represent some facet of reality. Words are the best illustration of conscious symbolism, since words are representations of ideas. In the pictorial arts symbols are representational, and an art object can be judged by its quality of symbolic representation.

The art object becomes a new reality while still representing a more basic reality.

Music is different from other art media in that it is more abstract. Taken alone, a word can have a meaning; but a tone has no meaning until it is related to other tones to form a melody, motif, or some other quality. A single tone exists only as an acoustical sensation. The relationship of tones involves melody, harmony, rhythm, and tone color. Different periods in music history have organized these relationships in different ways.

The origin of music is unknown, although many theories have been advanced. One of the earliest uses of music was in connection with religion. Apparently early man believed music to possess some magical power, since he could observe the effect music had upon the "souls" of men. This emotional aspect of music is very obvious and has been recognized throughout history, with systems of music theory, acoustics, aesthetics, and even ethics being based upon this emotional foundation. The action of hearing tones produces various emotional reactions, and this phenomenon of acoustics seems to be essential to the enjoyment or dislike of music. In worship these emotional reactions must be directed so they will assume symbolic religious meaning. How to implement worship with music was a problem for the early Church, for music was representative of the profane, secular world.

Many psychologists say that music is important to worship because it does produce emotions whereby the worshiper is lifted beyond himself, enabling him to identify himself mystically with God. The act of corporate worship is important, since the individual's experiences are reinforced by those worshiping with him.¹

Music without a text is as valuable as music with a text, although a more difficult symbol to grasp. Ideally, instrumental music represents form and perfection. The development of form in music itself is an attempt to reach completeness through artistic media. The worshiper is taken beyond the mere mechanics of music into a realm of wholeness that is not present in the outside world. This concept is not religious in itself, but can be given religious meaning and can be experienced religiously. Music having a definitely secular

symbolism is poor music for worship. It would take a lot of doing to give religious meaning to the "Beer Barrel Polka," but not too difficult to give religious meaning to a Bach prelude or fugue. Apart from the secular association of the "polka," the Bach music is expressive of ideal form and completeness.

An experiment at Northwestern University is revealing in regard to the concept of form and completeness. A group of students with no musical background were exposed to both jazz and Bach daily for twenty-five days. After the last exposure, the students unanimously voted for the Bach music as the more satisfying. No attempt was made to "explain" the music; it was simply played for the class. The jazz was too much like the confusion of everyday living to be ultimately satisfying.

It has already been stated that words are symbols of ideas. Music adds an expressive quality to words that they do not express or possess in themselves. There is an interaction between words and music. A text conveys a new meaning to music beyond its basic musical components. The ideas of the text become the ideas of the music. Conversely, music makes a decided emotional contribution to the text. Music helps a worshiper better identify himself with the text. The worshiper can read or recite a hymn or prayer, but a more complete identification comes when the worshiper can sing the prayer or hymn (or hear it sung by a choir).

The church is a fellowship, and as a fellowship its primary function is the perpetuation and re-creation of religious faith. Corporate worship is an opportunity to rethink and re-experience basic religious beliefs. Symbols must be used to express these ideas, and the symbols themselves must be constantly re-examined. Worship, in this sense, can occur without the symbolism of music. However, of all the art symbols (those that represent the reality behind symbols), music stands out as the supreme art form for worship in two respects: (1) the potential of music for producing and reproducing religious emotion; and (2) the enhancement of meaning music gives when used in conjunction with other art media (e.g., painting, sculpture, and literature).²

Music is not distinct in the use of form, since all art media are

concerned with form of subject and organization of materials. However, other art forms or media confine the formal structure to a perimeter, while the formal structure of music has no apparent bounds. The pleasure and emotional response produced by music is more permanent and, at the same time, more potent in its ability to produce future pleasures and responses. This use of symbolism in music is universal from country to country, while language symbolism has to be translated. Painting and sculpture, likewise, have to be understood as representing objects in a given culture.

In the Old Testament era music was regarded as a vehicle for the worship of God. Beauty was never referred to as an objective value in the Scriptures nor an end in itself. It was considered a vehicle of worship. The splendor of the Temple and its music was considered beautiful and magnificent, but this was all a part of glorifying God. The Hebrew would not have thought of beholding the Temple as an art object any more than he would have considered music an art object. This mystical quality of music makes it a universal language or symbol of the highest of human aspiration. From the religious perspective, art can function only as a means to an end.

In the New Testament, a familiar passage that teaches about worship is Ephesians 2:8-10: "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: Not of works, lest any man should boast. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them."

The Greek word for "grace" includes the meaning of comeliness, form, and objective beauty or artistic beauty. Perhaps it is not too much to say, then, that the grace of God includes the fact of his objective beauty. We are saved by him through our recognition of his value, not through dependence on a life of our own imperfect, unartistic creation. "Workmanship" is the word the Greeks would use for odes, poems, or other art objects. In other words, we become God's artistic creation by recognizing his perfect beauty and goodness in contrast to our imperfection. Beauty exists as a part of God's nature, and it exists as a part of our nature through God. The "good

works" mentioned here are the assistance we give God in creating other individuals and in the perfecting of our own creation.

To say it differently, the Bible teaches us about the nature of God and the nature of men. Worship is the joining of man and God in a common enterprise. Worship recognizes man's deepest needs and God's boundless supply.

The Functions of Music in Worship

What does music do for Christian worship? Several things. First, music is a drawing force that pulls the congregation together. When they enter the place of worship, the people have come from many places with different thoughts and different problems. Music combines the different elements of the congregation into a unified whole, directing thoughts and feelings toward God.

Second, music expresses the religious convictions of the congregation. Doctrinal truths are expressed in hymns such as "Holy, Holy, Holy." The desire for God's presence is expressed in "Come, Thou Fount of Every Blessing," or "Come, Thou Almighty King." "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name" expresses the feelings of joy and praise held in common by a congregation. The music for a familiar hymn is representative of the text, whether the words are sung or not; and hearing the music can arouse in the worshiper the meaning and content of the text.

Third, music can help create a new awareness of God. The *emotional* appeal of the music and the message of the text can create a new concept of God, challenge one to fuller discipleship, or evoke a prayer for forgiveness and deliverance. Even concepts embody emotions, particularly in the realm of religion. There are two processes used in gaining concepts, abstracting and generalizing. Emotion can play a major part in either process, but perhaps more in the abstracting stage. A child can be frightened by a playful dog's jumping on him. He abstracts the concept of a dog as a frightful thing. He further tends to generalize that all dogs are frightful things.

Valid generalizations, however, cannot be made on the basis of isolated experiences. Forming a concept of God requires varied kinds

of experiences. All the elements of worship can work toward this goal of concept development. Music is particularly useful in this because of its emotional qualities, with or without a text. Perhaps the primary response to music is the emotional. Music adapted to a text is more emotionally charged because of the content of both words and music.³

Another important aspect of religious concept development is the use of symbols. There is difficulty in finding symbols that convey distinctively religious meaning. In determining the difference between secular and sacred music, the differentiating factor may be the use of a sacred text, the use of music with no secular association, or both. There is nothing within the structure of a given piece of music that makes it inherently "sacred." The meaning is determined by its use and association.

There are many things that we cannot know or understand about God, the Bible, or our religion. Much of our knowledge is based upon faith or feeling. Christianity deals with realities that are difficult to symbolize effectively. In this realm of the unseen and the unknown lies music. Music helps to give concrete expression to our ideas and feelings. It helps us to express qualities that elude verbal definition—an expression of the best that is within us.

A symbol does not have the logical precision of a mathematical formula. No, music is not precise. But neither is the cross, or baptism, or the Lord's Supper. Yet, these elements of worship are considered to be valuable symbols. All of our New Testament doctrines are symbols of what happened in the first century. The wooden cross on which Jesus died no longer exists. Only through symbols—words, ideas, musical expressions—can we know the reality of the past.

Certain principles can be discerned that we should observe. Denominational distinctives reflect judgments made about the meaning of the New Testament. However, in discovering and following New Testament principles, it is imperative to distinguish between principles and expediencies. There is a difference in the principle of the nature and function of the Lord's Supper and the expediency of how often it should be observed, even though Christians may differ on its nature and function. Some Christians make

a principle out of the absence of musical instruments in worship because the New Testament is silent about the practice of the early church. However, these same Christians feel that the use of hymnals, pulpits, buildings, lights, and other physical properities are expedient, even though the New Testament is silent on these matters also.

We are in danger of losing the meanings of our religious symbolism if they are not constantly examined and evaluated in terms of contemporary understanding. The sacredness of symbols lies in *what* they represent more than *how* they represent. In music this is particularly true, for a minister of music and a choir can become so concerned about how the music is produced that its symbolic function is hindered.

A fourth thing music does is to create a mood for worship. This is more than drawing the congregation together. It is the drawing of the individual together. The house of worship must have a different atmosphere from the world outside. Music can make this difference by creating a new atmosphere for the worshiper.

To use music that is suggestive of the outside world is devastating to worship. Secularized church music may draw the congregation together by entertaining them. It may be sung to texts expressing doctrinal truths, yet if music does not create awareness of the Almighty, it has failed and should not be used. The model for appropriate mood-producing music can be found in the thoughts and emotions of the Scriptures. Religious music should call forth the same emotions as religious literature. The Bible points us to the highest of thought, emotion, and ideal.

Even the historical sections of the Bible must be valued for the ideas and responses they produce in us. To say that religious music must have the same characteristics as religious literature, means that music should be consistent with the highest of ideals, thoughts, ideas, and emotions.

The purpose of music is to enhance worship, and worship is to enhance the spiritual life of man—man the individual and man the member of his community. The worship service is the main source of worship, but worship goes far beyond this into daily living. During the course of daily work, a person may hum a melody from

the preceding Sunday service and thus recall a vital religious experience. Or, the flash of a hymn through the mind in time of sorrow may bring comfort as it re-creates an earlier experience of God's sustaining power. This affinity of music and worship releases the worshiper to a freedom that is boundless.

The choir in many respects represents the congregation. Anthems are a form of musical expression impossible for the congregation. Through the use of good material and performance done to glorify God, the level of worship can be deepened as the choir expresses great truths. The most obvious reason for having graded choirs would be to assure replacements in the adult choir. This is actually a secondary purpose, for the primary purpose of the younger choirs should be training in worship. The congregation will worship only as the choir and worship leaders worship.

In conclusion, music is not an end in itself. Rather, music is one of the most expressive forms of human communication, and in this capacity it is used as an instrument to relate the human and the Divine. We should not think of music *in* worship, but worship *through* music.

Music is utilitarian to worship. All that is essential to worship is a man and his object of worship. When we start dealing with organized worship, it is necessary to determine what elements will aid worship and how they shall be used. The function of music in organized worship is unique because of: (1) its expressive qualities; (2) its ability to draw a congregation together; (3) its utility in concept development; (4) its ability to re-create previous religious experience; and (5) its mood-producing function.

A study of the New Testament and early church history reveals that worship included three functions: didactic, prophetic, and apologetic. These functions were often fused together into a whole. Music lent itself peculiarly well to the didactic and apologetic functions of worship. The didactic function was the instruction of unbelievers and new converts in the basic facts of faith. The prophetic function was primarily that of preaching and expounding the Word and will of God. The apologetic function was that of formulating doctrine or theology. Music aids all these functions.

Music is no more essential to worship than electricity is to living. Man was able to exist for many centuries, and exist well, without the aid of electricity. Worship would exist without music. Just as electricity is a means of aiding human existence, even so is music a means of aiding Christian worship.

Civilization is the picture of man's accomplishments, and the arts are the highest symbols of this accomplishment. To ignore music as a symbol of human aspiration is impossible. Music is here, and use of it does not require justification. The problem that we should deal with is "How should music function in worship?" Or, perhaps better, "What is worship, and how does music function in worship?"

To make music anything but a utility to worship would be to make it an end in itself. God is the only end of worship, not music or any other art, or any other part of organized worship. Worship can and does exist without music. However, as men search deeper for values and expressions of value, they turn to the arts. Some psychologists place aesthetic values at or near the top of those values necessary for the preservation of selfhood. Man needs an aesthetic expression. Our aim should be to search for deeper meaning in worship, and realize that the highest and most purposive worship can effectively utilize the symbolism of music.

X

Problems and Prospects

THE PURPOSE of this chapter is to raise some questions and suggest some answers concerning various problems in contemporary church music as a professional field. The answers given are not intended to be definitive or prophetic but are merely suggestions in the hope that they might stimulate further discussion and research.

The contemporary church music scene is one of great change. Denominations are becoming larger, music programs are expanding, and institutions of higher learning are becoming more interested in preparing church musicians. In times of transition it is good to review the past. This we have attempted to do, and it should expose the present to a clearer view. However, as the former things pass in review, it is also good to critically analyze the present in the light of the future.

Most church musicians appear to ignore philosophical or theological questions that might be raised in connection with church music. Is not church music simply a matter of learning music and performing it, following the guides prepared by a given denomination? Some would eagerly hope so; this would seem to make the task much easier. Yet church music, or any other part of the educational program of a church, should not become a well-oiled machine that gets lost in activity and organization. Organization is essential to carrying out objectives, but organization should never take the place of objectives.

Worship Practices

Most evangelical churches consider themselves to be nonliturgical. But what is meant by liturgical? The word comes from the Greek

word for liturgy (*leitourgia*), which means "public service." Thus, any public service of worship that has any form to it at all can be termed "liturgical." A strictly liturgical church (in the popular meaning of the word), for example the Lutheran, has a prescribed service that all churches use on any given Sunday. There is some variation in accordance with the time of year, special days, and so forth; but the worship is basically a uniform, prescribed service. This might be called "fixed-liturgical." Since any organized worship is "liturgical," we can refer to evangelical worship as being "free-liturgical." That is, the individual local church is free to use the forms and materials it chooses Sunday by Sunday with little regard to what another church is using.

There is considerable lack of uniformity among evangelical (or free-liturgical) churches. This lack of uniformity exists within a denomination as well as between denominations. This should not hide the fact, however, that there are very few churches of any denomination that have not developed an order of service which functions liturgically. When this liturgy is repeated over and over again, Sunday by Sunday, month by month, year by year, the service also becomes "ritual." The 1938 Church Music Survey of Southern Baptists revealed that most churches within this denomination at that time did not use a planned order of service. This is not to say that they did not organize worship or even fall into ritual patterns. It probably means only that they did not write out the order of service that they used. Even small rural Baptist churches that have very informal services tend to repeat the same worship elements in about the same order from one Sunday to the next. The liturgy here is simple (and sometimes undignified), but regular repetition has created a ritual—even though unwritten and unrecognized!

The real argument does not lie in the realm of liturgical *versus* nonliturgical worship. The real argument is liturgical *versus* ritualistic worship. One church, which would disclaim any idea that it was either liturgical or ritualistic, repeated the same hymn at the close of the morning service for years. This service became ritual without the church's being aware of it. A church that uses the

same order of service, whether for worship, baptism, or the Lord's Supper, is becoming ritualistic; the liturgical elements already exist. The great need among evangelical churches is to develop liturgical materials that have deep spiritual meaning and are flexible enough not to become ritualistic.

The pastor and minister of music must reach some conclusions together concerning the worship needs of their congregation. The physical features of worship are obvious, such as lights, temperature, colors, seating, hymnals, and choir robes. These features must be considered, but it must not be thought that the mere painting of some walls, or the cushioning of pews, or the robing of the choir can alone produce better worship. Spiritual improvement is what is needed, but this is harder to define or obtain. Every church staff needs to cope with such questions as: Whom do we worship? What is worship? What part do the arts play in worship? How can worship be improved?

Worship can be improved. Note a few general suggestions. First, the worship needs of the congregation should be determined. This can be done through personal counseling, visitation, and by the polling of church members. In other words, worship leaders should know their congregations.

Second, all unnecessary distractions should be removed from the worship service. Too many announcements, indiscreet song leading, irreverence in the choir, poor rostrum posture by worship leaders, putting hymnals on choir railings, and overdemonstrative singing can be distractions. Anything that calls attention to the personality of a worship leader should be avoided. It is God who is the object of worship—the center of attention—not some human “personality.”

Third, there needs to be some of the spontaneity restored to twentieth-century worship that was quite evident during the first century. The early Christians believed Jesus' words that he would be “in the midst” of them. He came to them during worship. “Christ is here!” was the thought of the worshiper, and his activity consisted in responding to this Presence. We must restore this concept to worship. Truly, Christ is present, and the worshiper must respond to him.

But response is needed other than the singing of hymns and the giving of money: prayers that are said in concert; the reading of responsive Scripture verses; and perhaps more important, a time when each individual Christian can make a personal contribution to the service. This may be a testimony of God's blessings, the quoting of favorite Scriptures or hymns, or the leading of public prayer. The favorite hymns and anthems of the people can be sung occasionally. Any procedure that can encourage the response of the worshiper should be considered. At the close of worship, the individual should leave the sanctuary with the assurance that he has met God, and that he has responded to God with his whole being.

Fourth, there should be greater planning and utilization of worship materials. The pastor and minister of music must each be aware of what the other is doing. The minister of music should give the pastor a list of anthems and other service music that is currently being prepared, and the pastor should reciprocate with a list of sermon topics for the future. In this way, the objectives of worship can be carried out more effectively. Co-operative planning of the spoken word and the sung word can improve worship.

Finally, a far-reaching program of worship improvement must be decided upon and executed. This must take place in the various assembly programs, in the worship services, in sermons, in church organizations, and in the graded choirs. The entire church staff needs to plan and work together in bringing about the improvement of worship.

Professional Church Music Training

The number of trained musicians is growing, but there are not enough to meet all the needs of the churches. Many churches cannot afford a full-time minister of music but desire a trained part-time director of music. These churches are the ones that suffer, either with no leadership or with untrained leadership. The various denominational music programs are designed to help remedy this situation with training texts, schools of church music, conferences, clinics, and many other services. Many ministers of music also have

to fill other church positions, such as associate pastor, youth director, or minister of education. This results in a weakened church program, for there is not enough time for one person to promote all aspects of two areas.

The student preparing for the vocational ministry of music should face the fact that his school may not provide as much guidance as he needs. There has been too little research into the nature of the minister of music's position and the curriculum requirements for professional training in order to relate students to their profession. No one has made a study to determine what a potential minister of music must know. In fact, there is no general agreement about what a minister of music should be expected to do. Therefore, there is much confusion in educational circles in trying to establish a church music program in colleges and seminaries. The National Association of Schools of Music has established minimum requirements for a church music major on the Bachelor of Music degree, but these requirements do not assure adequate preparation for the practical demands of church work.

Perhaps the most outstanding need in the training of future ministers of music is professional competence as musicians. A minister of music needs to be able to take his place in the community beside other professional musicians. His training cannot be second-rate. We do not expect pastors to be ill-prepared for a ministry to professional people, so why should we expect musicians to enter church music who are not capable of entering any other field of service. A study made in fourteen different colleges and universities offering undergraduate majors in church music reveals that church music majors are the poorest students, both academically and musically.¹

At present there is no clear picture in what colleges are offering in the field of church music. Course offerings are a hodgepodge of church music courses added to another music curriculum. Denominational colleges need to develop church-music-centered music departments, for they owe it to their denominations to train musicians as seriously as they train ministerial students. Students preparing to enter the ministry of music as a church-related vocation should

receive the same financial considerations as other ministerial students. Since music majors must pay extra for private lessons in most schools, further financial help may be justified.

There should be closer contact between students preparing for the pastorate, the ministry of music, and the ministry of education. Future staff relations can be made smoother by the establishment of right relationships between these students during college days. All of these men should be considered "ministerial" students. All should undergo the same qualifying examinations for tuition reduction, and all should be members of the same ministerial conference. As revolutionary as these proposals may seem to some, they offer hope for solving some very difficult problems on the church field itself.

Another great need in the training of ministers of music should be the development of a philosophy of church music. Our churches are too involved in church music for the novice to rely upon tricks and promotion to maintain his ministry. He must have some convictions about what he should do, how to do it, and the ability to see it through. How can one justify the involvement both in time and money our churches have in music? Why do we have music in worship? Why do we have graded choirs? How can the minister of music justify his salary and his position? Will his position and the status of his music ministry be curtailed if financial reverses hit the church, all because he has no clear-cut philosophy?

A third need is for some practical training within the curriculum. Ideally this would consist of guided field experiences for all church music majors in their junior and senior years of college. Field experience would be conducted much as practice teaching is in a college of education. There would be considerable observation of trained, experienced ministers of music by the student. The student would assist a minister of music in the routine matters of his work. He would perhaps work in churches of several different denominations in order to receive a broader background. When he works independently, he should be visited occasionally by a professor from the school who would give guidance and direction. All of these activities would be supplemented by weekly seminars, including

taped rehearsals, student reports, and professor-centered guidance.

Churches and individuals must expect better training for those who wish to serve in the ministry of music. One current problem is the almost fantastic salaries commanded by a few unqualified individuals. Some churches and some prospective ministers of music look more at the financial details of a position than an individual's preparation. Too many times churches in the evangelistic tradition look for a platform personality who is a good master of ceremonies, regardless of musical ability. Although such situations exist in churches when the music ministry is not fully understood, it is inexcusable for students to start their training with salary and showmanship in mind.

The New Testament Concept of the Ministry

In the last ten to fifteen years the concept of a "ministry" of music has become commonly accepted by most churches. Even though the concept is accepted, there is still widespread misunderstanding about the role of the minister of music. Further, there is much confusion over the word "ministry."

The ministry of Jesus was exemplified by his concern over meeting the needs of men, and he has challenged us to this same ministry: "He who is greatest among you shall be your servant; whoever exalts himself will be humbled, and whoever humbles himself will be exalted" (Matt. 23:11-12, RSV). The key word is "servant" (*diakonos*), minister. Ministry in the sense of service is the comprehensive term with which to describe Jesus in his role as Servant. The incident of the washing of the disciples' feet (John 13:1-17) is another indication that Jesus considered his ministry one of service to mankind and expected his followers to do likewise. Indeed, the Saviour continues his ministry through the church today.

There are many Scripture passages that point up the truth that the church does not "have" a ministry but "is" a ministry. Nor is there a distinction between clergy and laity (as found in so many of our churches) in the New Testament. "Laity" comes from the Greek word *laos*, which means "people," and "clergy" comes from *kleros*, which is used in connection with the inheritance the people of God

have in his kingdom. We think today of the "calling of God" as being a call to some official ministerial position, but in the New Testament it is God's calling (*klesis*) of men out of the world to be his people (*laos*). It has no connection with the way a man makes a living. Rather, it should mean that a man has responded to the call of God to be Christian and a servant of God *ministering* as a Christian to the needs of the world.

There is no text in the New Testament that places "minister" in a different category from that of "servant." In the broadest New Testament sense we are all ministers, we are all engaged in the work of the minister, and we are all a part of the larger ministry of God.

There has always been some confusion over the organization of the early church, and probably the confusion will remain. It is not the purpose of this chapter to delve into this vital question, but we can examine the lists of officials found in the New Testament that were considered the leaders of the churches.

The gifts we possess differ as they are allotted to us by God's grace, and must be exercised accordingly: the gift of inspired utterance, for example, in proportion to a man's faith; or the gift of administration, in administration. A teacher should employ his gift in teaching, and one who has the gift of stirring speech should use it to stir his hearers. If you give to charity, give with all your heart; if you are a leader, exert yourself to lead; if you are helping others in distress, do it cheerfully (Rom. 12:6-8, *New English Bible*).

Within our community God has appointed, in the first place apostles, in the second place prophets, thirdly teachers; then miracle-workers, then those who have gifts of healing, or ability to help others or power to guide them, or the gift of ecstatic utterance of various kinds (I Cor. 12:28, *New English Bible*).

And these were his gifts: some to be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to equip God's people for work in his service, to the building up of the body of Christ (Eph. 4:11-12, *New English Bible*).

It would appear that no attempt was made to list the offices in

order of their importance or to place one role above another. In Romans, Paul exhorted his readers to commit themselves fully to Christ (12:1-2) and then began to show them that the Christian is part of the body of Christ. As a part of this body and as one fully committed, the Christian responds with "the gifts we possess." In Corinthians Paul referred to "varieties of service [*diakonia*]" (1 Cor. 12:5, RSV) as manifestations of the Spirit. A reading of 1 Corinthians 12 will reveal that Paul was trying to tell the Corinthians the same thing he told the Romans: you are a part of Christ's body; respond to the challenges of the world as a member of that body with all your talents. In Ephesians, Paul presented spiritual gifts as the means for growth into full-grown Christians, "to mature manhood, measured by nothing less than the full stature of Christ" (Eph. 4:13, *New English Bible*).

Now it is also evident from these passages, and others, that certain individuals were selected for places of responsibility because of their spiritual gifts. It is difficult, again, to determine who had the major responsibility. First Peter 5:1-3 implies that "elder," "pastor," and "bishop" were designations for the same office. We might find a pattern here of determining the selection of leaders. An elder would signify spiritual and emotional maturity of mind and soul. The pastor is a shepherd of the flock, leading and directing, and the bishop is an overseer or superintendent. How many of these leaders the church had is unknown, but it is almost without question that a plurality of leaders existed, each man being responsible for a segment of the church's ministry.²

The Role of the Minister of Music

The person entering the ministry of music should feel that the best response he can make to the needs of the world is by utilizing his talents in ministering through music. Some might term this conviction a "call" to this task, and we would not make light of this conviction. It has been our purpose to try to develop the thesis that a person is called into a greater ministry, that of the church. If the minister of music recognizes his responsibilities to the entire ministry of the church, his approach to church music will be different from

that of the man who looks upon church music as a profession similar to public school teaching or some other profession. The role of the minister of music within the totality of the ministry of the church can best be understood in three aspects.

First, the minister of music is a leader of worship, and as such he can do whatever is necessary to place more emphasis on the congregation's participation and less on himself or his choir. Good congregational singing, appropriately led, can help the people humble themselves, it can help them express their faith, and it can inspire them to deeper service. The minister of music who makes his part of the service a spectacle is hampering real worship. The minister of music who emphasizes the singing of the choir to the exclusion of congregational singing is hampering real worship.

As a leader of worship, the minister of music must realize that he, too, must worship; he must also teach his fellow musicians to worship. It is easy for those in leadership responsibilities to become so involved with the mechanics of service preparation that they themselves fail to worship.

Second, the minister of music is a music educator. This implies that he understands how people learn, especially in connection with music reading. The graded choir program needs a director who understands the relation between language reading and music reading, and is able to guide music learning, step by step, until adequate reading skills are developed. A reading readiness exists at each new level of reading, and the minister of music must be able to develop this readiness into reading skills. Never should reading skills be isolated from actual musical experiences.

Individuals need many musical experiences before they can develop musical skills, and the minister of music should be able to provide a background of musical experience that is a foundation for future developments. Generally, musical experiences are divided into five areas: singing experiences, rhythmic experiences, instrumental experiences, listening experiences, and creative experiences. These take place at all levels, and some take place simultaneously.

The process of leading a church into deeper worship experiences or of leading a church to sing better hymns and anthems is a task of

music education. The minister of music cannot blame his people for a lack of ability. His job is to develop the ability they have. The old phrase "start where people are" is very appropriate, but they do not have to remain where they start. The efficient and professional minister of music will start where the people are but will also be able to determine where and how they can grow. The minister of music teaches, just as music teachers in public schools or colleges teach.

Finally, the minister of music is a minister. On the basis of the New Testament concept of the ministry the only distinctions between the qualifications for ministers of music and pastors are (1) the musician does not have to have the ability to preach, and (2) the musician is not charged with the general pastoring of the entire congregation. One person has to be responsible to the church for the furthering of the church's ministry, and that person is the pastor. Of necessity, the pastor must rely upon professional staff members for guidance and for the discharge of many aspects of the church's ministry.

Many ministers of music are fighting for status, and rightly so. However, these individuals must realize that the pastor is the one who must bear ultimate responsibility for the ministry of music. This role of the pastor must be accepted by staff members.

Further, if the minister of music is going to demand status, he must function in a ministerial way. First, the minister of music is an "undershepherd" to the congregation. More directly he is more intimately connected with those who assist him in his ministry, such as choir members, accompanists, and other assistants. To these he must be a "shepherd" in every respect. Second, the minister of music must also conduct his visitation and counseling program, especially to those vitally engaged in the music ministry. Third, he must realize that he is to minister to the pastor through music. Fourth, the minister of music must be grounded in theology and the Bible, and be thoroughly committed to the evangelistic outreach of the church.

If the minister of music is going to call himself "minister," he must be a "minister." He is not a master of ceremonies, not a director, nor an assistant to the pastor. In every respect he must be a minister—in dress, in ethics, in training, in concern for the outreach

of the church, and in all of his relationships to the congregation.

Pastors should accept this role for their ministers of music, too. The pastor ministers through preaching and in the comprehensive oversight of the church. The musician ministers through music. Otherwise, their duties, responsibilities, and training should be the same. Only when the pastor and the musician work together can both function effectively. There should be agreement in visitation, in counseling, and in witnessing. Thus their ministry is not duplicated but expanded.

Should the minister of music be ordained? We might answer by asking: "Why ordain the pastor?" The answer comes: "Because the pastor has proved his ability, he has received training, and is now ready to have the stamp of approval put upon him by the church." The same can be said of the musician. This point of view has prevailed among Methodists but is not as widespread in other denominations. The problem seems to be in a misconception of what ordination is. Many evangelical ministers have a pre-Reformation concept that gives ordination a special sacramental aura. The ordained man is supposedly the only one able to do certain tasks, and ordination is what conveys this authority. Nothing is said in the New Testament about ordination being necessary to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper, or to even preach sermons. Most state laws require licensure or ordination to the gospel ministry as a requirement for legal marriage officiation, but other than this (and certain "fringe" benefits in society), ordination imparts no special power.

Most controversy could be avoided if ministers of music were ordained to *that* ministry only. This would signify that they were not expected to preach, baptize, perform weddings, or to perform other strictly pastoral functions. At the same time, ordination would give them the approval of the church and the denomination that they need. Ordination to the ministry of music would not necessarily eliminate a man from performing certain pastoral duties if the church so delegated them to him. Often, in cases where a church is without a pastor, the minister of music must carry out pastoral duties without the obligation of preaching, although this is occasionally done too.

For church music to be in transition is not bad in itself. However, the question must be: Where are we going? It is possible to make a transition to something better, or to something worse. The question can only be answered by those who enter the ministry of music in the future.

The fact that more churches and more denominations are promoting better church music is a healthy sign for the future. The higher salaries and higher academic requirements for ministers of music are also a good indication of better things to come. However, it should be emphasized again that there are some questions to be answered and some problems to be solved. The issues must be met squarely by our churches, our schools, and by those who are engaged in the ministry of music.

Notes

These notes are so arranged as to include important works not quoted or referred to in the book, but valuable for further study and research.

Chapter I. Music in the Old Testament

Finegan, *Light From the Ancient Past*.

Gordon, *The World of the Old Testament*.

Watts, *A Survey of Old Testament Teaching*.

1. Sachs, *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World*, pp. 57-58, 62-63. Cf. Stainer, *Music of the Bible*, chapter 1; Wells, *The Outline of History*, pp. 162-165; Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, chapter 1; Elliott, *The Message of Genesis*, p. 56; Kent, *Narratives of Beginnings of Hebrew History*, pp. 5, 14, 17, 28-48, 60; Gradenwitz, *The Music of Israel*, pp. 24-26; cf. Werner, "Musical Instruments," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, for information on the primitive clarinet.

2. Stainer, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-22.

3. Rabinovitch, *Of Jewih Music*, pp. 13-17; Rothmüller, *The Music of the Jews*, pp. 5-6.

4. Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, pp. 103, 475; Rothmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-15; Rabinovitch, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

5. Rothmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-26; Stainer, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-144, 23-37, 77-99, 145-147; Sachs, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61; Rabinovitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 34-38.

6. Rothmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-41; Rabinovitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20; Yates, *From Solomon to Malachi*, pp. 113-116.

7. Williams, *The Key to the Psalms*; Erdman, *Your Bible and You*, pp. 64-65; Dummelow, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible*, p. 324; Rothmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49, 238-242; Rabinovitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-28. Cf. Gradenwitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-75; and Idelsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-91.

8. Rothmüller, *op. cit.*

Chapter II. Music of the Early Church

Stagg, *New Testament Theology*.

1. Edersheim, *The Temple*.
2. Smith, *A Bible Dictionary*, see "Synagogue." See also Oesterley, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*.
3. Duggan, *History of Education*, chapter 2.
4. McKinney and Anderson, *Music in History*, pp. 76-77.
5. Lang, *Music in Western Civilization*, pp. 39-41; McKinney and Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-82; Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, pp. 57-62.
6. Lang, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 20, 23, and 47.
7. Douglas, *Church Music in History and Practice*, p. 21.
8. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, pp. 59-75.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Dickinson, *Music in the History of the Western Church*, chapter 3.
11. Newman, *A Manual of Church History*, I, 393-494.
12. Gleason, *Outlines of Music History*, Ser. 1, pp. 11-30; and Reese, *op. cit.*, chapter 4.
13. Gleason, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-30; Reese, *op. cit.*, chapter 5.
14. Reese, *op. cit.*, chapters 9-11; McKinney and Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-140.
15. Reese, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-197; Gleason, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-30.

Chapter III. Music of the Reformation

Bainton, *Here I Stand*.

Buszin, "Luther on Music," *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 32 (1946).

Frere, "The Rhythm of Metrical Psalm Tunes," *Music and Letters*, Vol. 9 (1928).

Garside, "Calvin's Preface to the Psalter," *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 37 (1951).

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Knight, "The Genevan Psalter of 1551," *The Hymn*, Vol. 2 (1951).

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1. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, see entries under each individual man, and "Lutheran Hymnody."

2. Lang, *op. cit.*, see index; Reese, *op. cit.*, chapter 13; McKinney and Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-259.

3. Burrage, *A History of the Anabaptists in Switzerland*, chapter 1.

4. Duerksen, *Anabaptist Hymnody of the Sixteenth Century*, entire dissertation. Also, Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," *Church History*, Vol. XIII (1944).

5. McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, p. 16.

6. Terry, *Calvin's First Psalter*, p. vii.

7. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, p. 347.

8. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music*, p. 341.

9. Thostenson, *Some Notes on the Psalter*, pp. 31-35.

10. Phillips, *Hymnody Past and Present*, pp. 3-7; Bailey, *The Gospel in Hymns*, pp. 3-7, 14.

11. Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music*, p. 10.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

13. Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody*, pp. 30-31; Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-24; Pratt, *The Music of the Pilgrims*, pp. 9, 18, 21-22.

14. Fox, "Stephen Daye, First Printer in the United States," *The Hymn*, pp. 61-63.

15. Haraszti, *The Enigma of the Bay Psalm Book*.

Chapter IV. Music of the Singing School

Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody*.

Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music*.

Ninde, *The Story of the American Hymn*.

1. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music*, pp. 370-373.

2. Tufts, *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes*.

3. Chase, *America's Music*, chapters 3 and 4 give a very detailed account of the first native composers and some examples of their work.

4. Birge, *The History of Public School Music in the United States*, chapter 1.

5. Burrage, *Baptist Hymn Writers and Their Hymns*, Appendix, p. 660.

6. Birge, *op. cit.*

7. W. L. Hubbard (ed.), *American History and Encyclopedia of Music*, pp. 137-204.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

Chapter V. Music of the Gospel Song

See books for chapter 4.

1. Hope, *Isaac Watts and His Contribution to English Hymnody*.

2. Johansen, *The Olney Hymns*.

3. Jackson, *Down-East Spirituals; White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands; White and Negro Spirituals*.

4. Sweet, *Religion in the Development of American Culture*, pp. 147-152; Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, see index. See also Strickland, *The Great American Revival*; Muncy, *Evangelism in the United States*; Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River*.

5. Lowens, "Our Neglected Musical Heritage," and Lovelace, "Early Sacred Folk Music," *The Hymn*, Vol. 3 (April 1952).

6. Jackson, *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America*, see appendix.

7. Lovelace, *op. cit.*

8. Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

10. Eskew, *The Life and Work of William Walker*.

11. Jackson, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands*.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River*.

Chapter VI. Music of the Baptists

Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches*.

1. Torbet, *A History of the Baptists*.

2. Curwen, *Studies in Worship Music*, Ser. 2, pp. 92 ff.

3. Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America*, Vol. I. This book has no index and is poorly organized. See the section dealing with early Baptist beginnings in this country.

4. Cathcart, *The Baptist Encyclopedia*, see "Singing," and "Baptist Hymnody."

5. McCutchan, *Hymn Tune Names*.

6. See the indices in the Jackson books cited.

7. Burrage, *op. cit.*, see Appendix pp. 655-656.

8. Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals*, p. 61.

9. Danner, "Staunton S. Burdett's 'Baptist Harmony.'"
10. Torbet, *op. cit.*, index.
11. *Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention*, 1851, p. 16.
12. Cathcart, *The Baptist Encyclopedia*, see "Sunday School."
13. Patterson, *The Southern Baptist Sunday School Board's Program of Church Music*. The author went through periodicals and other materials not cataloged, and extracted those articles dealing with church music. This work forms the basis for the remainder of chapter 7. Cf. Bratcher, *The Growth and Development of Church Music in the Southern Baptist Convention*.

Chapter VII. Music of the Methodists

1. Stevenson, *Patterns of Protestant Church Music*, chapter 4.
2. Ellinwood, "Wesley's First Hymnal Was Never Officially Condemned," *The Hymn*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (April, 1961).
3. Sweet, *Men of Zeal: The Romance of American Methodist Beginnings*, and Sweet, *Methodism in American History*, pp. 88-92.
4. Sweet, *Religion in the Development of American Culture*, pp. 62-66, 146.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
7. Many free pamphlets are available from the General Board of Education. Cf. McCutchan, *Our Hymnody*, Introduction.
8. From the pamphlet, "The Certification of Ministers of Music."

Chapter VIII. The Presbyterians and the Disciples

There are many original documents in the Disciples of Christ Historical Society archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

1. Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody*, p. 30.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-155.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 188-191.
5. Sweet, *Religion in the Development of American Culture*, pp. 101-102.
6. Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music*, pp. 148-149.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-242.
8. Sweet, *Religion in the Development of American Culture*, pp. 221-224, 228.
9. Hanson, *The Hymnody and the Hymnals of the Restoration*

Movement.

10. Heaton, *The Disciples of Christ and Sacred Music*, and "Our First Hymnal," *The Christian Evangelist*. See also the 1949 issues of *Discipliana*, official publication of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society.

11. Humbert, "Alexander Campbell Edits a Hymnal," *The Christian Evangelist*, December 31, 1936.

12. Heaton, *op. cit.*

13. Brandon, *An Approach to the Theology of Alexander Campbell Through His Hymnody*.

Chapter IX. Music in Worship

1. Boisen, *Religion in Crisis and Custom*, a book on the exchange between psychology, worship, and religion; Johnson, *The Psychology of Religion*, a section on worship gives a more detailed account of the relationship of music and worship in Christian and non-Christian services.

2. Kahler, "The Nature of the Symbol," Tillich, "The Religious Symbol," and Whitehead, "Uses of Symbolism," *Symbolism in Religion and Literature*, ed. Rollo May.

3. Zuckerkandl, *Sound and Symbol: Music and the External World*; Piaget, *The Language and Thought of the Child*.

Chapter X. Problems and Prospects

1. Genter Stephens, School of Church Music, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, Ed.D. dissertation in progress.

2. William J. Moore, *The New Testament Concept of the Ministry*.

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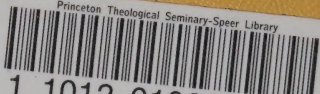
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